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Reagan Statement Welcomes Test Ban Talks
LD092046 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2029 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Text] Washington, 9 Nov (TASS)—On Monday President Reagan welcomed the commencement of large-scale Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva about restricting and ultimately ending nuclear tests. An accord on staging them was reached at the talks held in September this year in Washington between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz.

Expressing support for the negotiating process which has begun, the President at the same time advocated in his statement the continuation of the implementation of the Strategic Defense Initiative, which, according to his words, "threatens nobody." As is known, this program envisages the deployment of space strike weapons.

It follows from the President's statement that as long as the United States "continues to rely on nuclear weapons to guarantee its security," it will continue to stage nuclear tests.

Weinberger Legacy Continues Despite Departure
LD091825 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 9 Nov 87

["Nuclear Weapons and Two-Faced Janus"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 9 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev.

Caspar Weinberger who resigns as U.S. defence secretary "warned" the U.S. Administration in an interview to the NBC television network. In the opinion of the Pentagon's chief, it should be "very cautious" at the talks with the USSR on nuclear arms reduction. And the United States should retain the military might after concluding any agreements.

It is not for nothing that the right-wing forces lament the loss of Weinberger, as the London *Sunday Times* noted. Over many years he has been implementing the biggest build-up of the U.S. Armed Forces in all the history of the USA, securing the maximum appropriations for the development and production of armaments, and conducting the line at frustrating any arrangement with the Soviet Union in the sphere of nuclear arms limitation.

He confirmed once again his reputation as an adversary of detente at the meeting of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group which ended the other day. At that meeting he declared for the strengthening and modernisation of nuclear arms deployed in Western Europe to which the terms of the emergent Soviet-U.S. agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles do not apply.

Deplorably, Weinberger has supporters in the capitals of NATO countries and they have no wish to give up even a part of nuclear arms. Thus, chairman of the NATO Military Committee, West German General Wolfgang Altenburg recently expressed obvious regrets that the elimination of U.S. medium-range missiles will deprive the bloc of "the opportunity of dealing strikes at deeplying areas in the Soviet territory, as a result of which NATO will lose part of its most reliable and most important array of armaments for the escalation of military operations."

It is at restoring this "array" that the plans for deploying new nuclear missiles in Europe, worked out by a group of high officials of the defence ministries of NATO member-countries, are aimed. "Compensatory measures" include the deployment of a large number of nuclear delivery aircraft, land-based tactical missiles, sea-based cruise missiles, etc. The British *Observer* warned NATO might possibly wind up with a greater amount of nuclear arms than it would have without the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles. The *Financial Times* aptly described NATO leaders who declare for such rearming by comparing them to two-faced Roman god Janus.

So the question arises who should "show caution" at the talks on nuclear arms reduction. The barrier should be placed to the plans of "compensation" and "rearming" so that the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles should lead to real lowering of the level of nuclear confrontation in Europe. The public of West European NATO countries is called upon to state its views on this.

U.S. Opposition on Arms Prospects Examined
PM091251 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Nov 87 First Edition p 3

[Manki Ponomarev "Notes of an International Affairs Journalist": Responsibility for the Future"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The new political thinking is not simply a declaration or an appeal. It is a philosophy of action, a philosophy by which our party and the Soviet state are guided. The initial, albeit not very major changes are already in evidence.

The facts? Well, for example there is the accord with the United States to conclude an agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles in the near future. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S. President should sign the relevant treaty during their meeting in Washington, which is to begin 7 December.

Considering the enormous arsenals of nuclear weapons accumulated by the two countries, this agreement will not cover a particularly large group of arms — just two classes, two categories — but the significance will be enormous. First, we will have an elimination of arms and

the achievement of disarmament occurring for the first time in history on the basis of a mutually approved and mutually advantageous accord rather than as a result of defeat in war. Second, this accord will open the way to a far more considerable achievement in the key issue of eliminating the nuclear threat — the reduction of strategic offensive weapons and the prevention of arms in space.

Talks on this will be the focus of attention during the December meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan. Moreover, it is envisaged that the sides will work toward the earliest possible drawing up of a treaty to immediately halve strategic offensive weapons, which could be signed during a return visit by the U.S. President to Moscow in the first half of next year.

The intellectual breakthrough made a year ago in Reykjavik is turning even now into a tangible breakthrough in the form of real agreements and treaties designed to remove the threat of nuclear catastrophe hanging over mankind. Our restructuring is knocking the ground from beneath the feet of those who try to scare people with the "Soviet threat," and militarism is losing its political justification.

Losing, but it has no intention of voluntarily leaving the stage of history and plans to continue to poison life on our planet with its fetid breath. The forces of militarism and reaction are not laying down their arms. Discussing the prospects of ratifying a treaty on medium-range and short-range missiles in the U.S. Senate, Senator A. Cranston warned: "There are 15-20 extremely conservative Republican senators who will most likely make a direct attack on the treaty. And there are some who will attack it indirectly," resorting to obstructionist tactics. A recent session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group announced the Pentagon's intention to continue to station medium-range missiles in Western Europe even after a Soviet-American agreement has been signed, until it is ratified. This session, *The Washington Post* noted, also discussed plans to deploy new arms in Europe, including tactical missiles, air-based missiles, and other arms with nuclear warheads.

Supporters of the so-called "Rogers Plan" — the concept of a "follow-on force attack (using reserves)" approved 3 years ago on 9 November 1984 by the NATO Military Planning Committee — have become more active again. The plan refutes all assurances that the bloc's military activity is "defensive," as it envisages a sudden, full-depth strike against the Warsaw Pact force disposition in Central Europe and does not rule out but provides for the use of nuclear weapons.

Facts like this — and there are a fair number of them — lend a special resonance to the questions raised in M.S. Gorbachev's report: Will imperialism be able to soberly assess the new situation and, restraining itself, abandon its military principles based on force in favor of political principles, and can it and its economy survive without militarism? These questions, together with the question of whether the capitalist system will be able to live without neocolonialist exploitation, are now more serious than ever before. Comprehensive answers to them still have to be worked out, but they must be found because these questions have been raised by life itself. The people of the world can have no future if a constructive, practical solution to these problems is not found.

We are all responsible for the future. All of us together and everyone individually. That is why we approve of the CPSU's stand on defense issues. As long as the danger of war persists and social revanche remains the pivot of Western strategy and militarist programs, the party will continue to do everything necessary to maintain the country's defense might at a level which rules out the possibility of imperialist military superiority over socialism.

These words, heard throughout the world during the October Revolution celebrations, constitute a program of action for every one of us.

Petrovskiy Speaks on Summit, U.S. Relations

LD101015 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—A responsible stage begins in Soviet-U.S. relations: The preparations for Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the United States were shunted into a practical plane and it is to take place in a short time from now, Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, today told a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists here.

The entire spectrum of issues relevant to relations between the USSR and the United States, including arms reduction, will be addressed during the summit meeting and a treaty on a total elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range and shorter-range missiles will be signed. Thus, the opportunities are opened for genuine disarmament.

The Soviet Union comes out unswervingly for the disarmament process to develop non-stop and make it possible, as was formulated in the programme statement of January 15, 1986, to rid mankind of all types of weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. In this connection, we cannot fail to give thought to what will be the schedule of work at the talks on disarmament in all of its aspects and also the tasks of top priority in this field following the signing of a treaty on medium-range and shorter-range missiles.

Along with the earliest solution of the issue of a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive armaments and preserving the ABM treaty, a priority place in this schedule should be allotted to a total ban on and destruction of chemical weapons under rigorous and effective international control. The multilateral negotiations on banning chemical weapons are to be resumed in Geneva late in November and a new round of bilateral Soviet-U.S. consultations is planned for December.

The session of the conference on disarmament that drew to a close in August was marked by a palpable spurt forward on the way towards concluding a convention on banning chemical weapons. Virtually all key issues, among them those relevant to verification, have been principally solved now. The Soviet Union's contribution to those solutions is known. What has been left is only to study technical particulars.

The problem of outlawing chemical weapons was the topic of thorough discussion during the meetings between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. State Secretary George Shultz in Washington and Moscow. The Soviet side took additional steps towards the U.S. position, by the way in those issues to which the U.S. side attached particular importance.

We note with satisfaction a constructive nature of the discussions in Washington and Moscow. We also assess in the same way the regular round of Soviet-U.S. consultations on the problem of non-proliferation of chemical weapons held in September, Vladimir Petrovskiy said.

Reiterates Mideast Stand

LD101030 Moscow TASS in English 1017 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy today described rumours about changes in the Soviet stance on a Middle East conference, including its character, as "totally groundless."

Speaking at a press conference here, he said that "the Soviet Union's stance is unequivocal—we have favoured and continue to favour the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East."

"Besides, there is now an exclusively favourable moment in the world arena in favour of such a conference, there is an actual consensus."

"During New York talks between the Soviet and Israeli foreign ministers," he said, "it was said with certainty that the question of Palestinian representation was an exclusively important, vital issue.

Without proper representation of the Palestinians, it is impossible to secure the settlement of the Middle East problem. In handling the issue of Palestinian representation, it is necessary to take into account the opinion of the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people."

"During Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Yasir 'Arafat in Moscow," Petrovskiy said, "the sides reaffirmed identity of views on the fact that a lasting peace in the Middle East can only be ensured through a fair comprehensive settlement.

Convening an international conference under the U.N. auspices with equitable participation of all sides concerned, including the PLO, is the main road to this settlement."

Pyadyshev Holds UN Press Conference 7 Nov

Extols Gorbachev's GOSR Report

LD071046 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0629 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] New York, Nov 7 (TASS)—The USSR delegation at the 42d session of the UN General Assembly held a press conference here on Friday. It was dedicated to the 70th GOSR anniversary. The speech by B.D. Pyadyshev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Department, stressed that the theses and assessments contained in the report by M.S. Gorbachev,

general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the ceremonial session in the Kremlin are clear examples of the philosophy of new thinking and reflect the realities of the contemporary world. The journalists' attention was drawn to a number of key points in the report which give a generalized picture of the road covered by the country of the Soviets and precisely express the meaning of what is going on in the Soviet Union and abroad. It was noted that that new political thinking is not just a declaration or an appeal but a philosophy for action.

The USSR-U.S. accord on concluding an agreement on nuclear medium-range and operational-tactical missiles is an important practical achievement of new thinking. However, the time demands that further steps for eliminating the nuclear threat should be made. What is involved here is above all reducing strategic offensive weapons and not permitting the extension of arms into space. These are the specific steps that the world is expecting from the forthcoming meeting between the leaders of two great powers. The Soviet Union, too, is prepared to make a contribution of its own to the movement for a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

The Soviet spokesman drew the correspondents' attention to the assessments expressed in M.S. Gorbachev's speech about the UN which must in an authoritative fashion discuss and ensure the collective search for the balance of interests of all states and must effectively fulfill its peace creating function.

Examines Glasnost, Restructuring

AU091624 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 8 Nov 87 pp 5,7

[Boris Pyadyshev article: "The October Revolution Atmosphere on Our Planet]

[Excerpts] Many of Lenin's contemporaries who watched him during the night of 7 November (25 October) 1917 have described this event in their memoires. [passage omitted]

These days the attention of those forces in the West which do not accept socialism is focused on the Soviet Union. Our country, innovated by a revolutionary restructuring process, by glasnost, and democratization does not suit the taste of these circles. The hostile "face of the enemy" which served the purposes of all military programs concocted by the NATO member countries is fading. This is why they are trying to preserve the cliches of anti-Soviet hostility and distrust. The ultra-conservative "International Security Council" is frantically trying to warn the United States and its allies, claiming that they "are not aware of the serious threat which the Soviet Union represents for the whole world." This is a direct, head-on attack. Along with this gross action, there are "more subtle" reports and articles, as well as interviews that are being published for a very obvious reason, namely for the purpose of indoctrinating the uninformed public about "Soviet tricks" and to cast a shadow upon our country's authoritative and honest image.

Nevertheless, the foreign political initiatives of the USSR in the restructuring period are forcing the bourgeois circles, too, to analyze the sources and essence of the Soviet concepts and of the new political thinking. It is no accident that the Great October Revolution was marked by the appearance of an unprecedentedly large amount of material in the Western press. The new way of thinking with its universal human criteria, with its trend toward common sense and openness, began its progress in world affairs, destroying the stereotype ideas and cliches of anti-Sovietism and distrust toward our initiatives.

The initial phase has been accomplished. The first signs of change have appeared. One of the convincing confirmations of this new trend is the agreement with the United States to sign a treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. Let us hope that this truly historic agreement on the elimination of these two classes of nuclear weapons will serve as an incentive for more drastic steps in connection with the reduction of strategic weapons, while still observing the ABM Treaty. [passage omitted]

As we can see, the term glasnost goes back to the open, Leninist diplomacy. Glasnost is not a short-lived, temporary campaign and not an attempt to present reality in a positive light, as people in the West sometimes claim. Glasnost is a norm of the Soviet way of life, without which no radical changes are possible. Therefore, the trend toward the expansion of glasnost and openness [otkritosta] is our basic line of policy. Glasnost means a great deal in Soviet politics. Soviet diplomacy is required to conduct international affairs in such a manner as to avoid excessive additional expenditures in the field of our country's defense capacity and in connection with the protection of the Soviet Union's legitimate foreign political interests. Hence, we must seek opportunities to restrict and reduce military rivalry and to avoid situations of conflict in our relations with other states, and to search for possibilities to tone down conflicts and situations of crisis. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria have set a good example regarding the establishment of effective cooperation in the economic sphere. Approximately 1 year ago, at a working meeting of the leaders of fraternal parties from socialist states held in Moscow, a trend toward a substantial innovation in the methods of economic cooperation between CEMA member countries was established.

Sofia pursued this tradition by hosting a meeting in autumn 1987, attended by party Central Committee secretaries from the fraternal countries, at which opinions were exchanged regarding restructuring CEMA's integration mechanism.

The next meeting took place in Moscow. At this recent extraordinary CEMA session a program was adopted, the substance of which can be briefly described in the following terms: to eliminate bureaucratic barriers and to bring the mechanism of integration closer to the new conditions and requirements, which are of first-rate importance for the intensification of social production and to improve the working people's well-being. The session admitted that it is necessary to implement a restructuring process in the mechanism of multilateral cooperation and a gradual restructuring in CEMA's work, in accordance with the national economic mechanisms of the CEMA member states, and regarding the measures they implement in connection with perfecting their own economic systems. [passage omitted]

Cooperation — this pertains, above all, to the activities of specific enterprises and trusts, in both the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. What are their opportunities under conditions in which, the mechanism of economic impact in fraternal countries is being restructured? To what extent are enterprises ready to develop direct links with their partners in socialist countries?

These are by no means simple questions. The experience of direct links between Sofia, Stara Zagora, and other Bulgarian enterprises with the Ivanovo combine and Moscow plants shows that both Soviet and Bulgarian economic managers are setting positive examples in this respect. Our plans for work have expanded and the intensification of direct cooperation between our enterprises is advancing far ahead.

The Soviet manager today has no fewer rights in the sector of foreign economic relations than the manager of any CEMA member country. [passage omitted]

'168 Hours' Interviews Gerasimov, Chervov

LD072150 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 7 Nov 87

["168 Hours" program on listeners questions written and phoned-in to the program and posed to Soviet specialists in Moscow by Budapest Radio's Moscow correspondent Jozsef Barath; edited and presented by Gabor Nemes, featuring Gennadiy Gerasimov, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman; Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov, Soviet General Staff spokesman; Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, atomic physicist; Vitaliy Korotich, chief editor of *Ogonek*; Barath and Soviet participants speak in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Nemes] An extraordinary, or rather unusual "168 Hours," means of course an extraordinary forum. We are putting the questions received from listeners by phone, or in writing, not from here, and not now. They were recently presented to our Moscow specialists by Jozsef Barath, Budapest Radio correspondent in Moscow, who answered the questions straight away before his microphone.

The specialists are well known here in Hungary too: Gennadiy Gerasimov, spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, whose name appears frequently in the news. Also a spokesman, for the Soviet General Staff, Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov, who by the way is a three-star general; Yevgeniy Velikhov, who is the vice president of the Academy of Sciences and an atomic physicist; and last but not least, Vitaliy Korotich, chief editor of *Ogonek*, who is a real glasnost specialist, or rather a glasnost frontline fighter. His weekly paper publishes 1.5 million copies, and is today one of the most interesting reads in Moscow, although at one time — despite his excellent paper and excellent influence — it was extremely uninteresting and boring.

Korotich and glasnost raised the paper, and so we will try with this too. We will start our forum with Korotich and the theme of glasnost, which is not a matter of indifference to us either. Our correspondent, Jozsef Barath, put a question first from Lajos Balogh, a listener from Budapest:

[Barath] How do people react to glasnost? Does the wave of sharp criticism not produce incomprehension?

[Korotich] Several factors play a part here. For example we have just rehabilitated in the Soviet Union, the great writer Pasternak, and the others. We say that we must publish the opinions of those too, who demanded the banning of Pasternak. What a reaction this aroused! What is the use of this, why stir this up? And why should it not be? This will be a good lesson for those who now talk stupidities, thinking that with time we will forget everything. This must be talked about.

It is my opinion that people have a right to pay for their mistakes. For we have people here who have been transformed at least 10 times. There will be an article in the 46th edition about Academician Vasilyev and we have decided that in this we will publish the full texts of the denunciations made against Vasilyev with all the signatures. These people are of course against glasnost.

The other anti-glasnost group is that which thinks that if we mention sweets often, then we will have a sweet taste in our mouths; that is, if we do not talk about what is bad here then nobody will notice this. It is often said here that there is constructive truth and destructive truth. In my opinion there is only one truth, that which it pulls down must be pulled down. In this sense, I think that openness is an excellent wind of purification, but too many people would like to restrict it. For this reason, I am participating in a real struggle for the first time in my 50 years, and I am very glad of this.

[Barath] The next question is connected with this. How do they act, what do the opponents of glasnost do?

[Korotich] We receive around 360-370 letters daily. Most of these write: Well done, we are with you, carry on! At the beginning I was very pleased with these, right

up until I realized that in nearly as many letters they write the opposite of this—except that these letters are not addressed to us, but to the Central Committee.

The process of openness is very complex. The press organs differ from each other greatly. Such papers that have taken a stance against us are, for example, the *Molodaya Guardiya*, *Pravda*, *Sovremennik*. We consider this necessary, for everyone must have their opposite. We were given great support by *Izvestiya*, *Znamya*, *Yunost*, *Nedelya*, and *Sovetskaya Kultura*. I think that this is a natural phenomenon in the course of debates, and we now are learning to debate.

[Barath] Does this mean that democratization is characterized precisely by differing opinions in society coming to the surface, and every press organ must represent something, someone, concrete views?

[Korotich] Naturally. The situation is that some people, very laughably, say that now we are so brave. We are not at all brave. That fool was brave who banned Pasternak, for it takes great courage to ban a great poet. The person who prohibited children learning history from reading the resolutions of the 20th Congress was brave. We, in contrast to this, are doing completely normal things here. Books are lined up on the bookshelves, but there is an empty place — Pasternak's place, and we have put it in its place.

[Barath] By the way, the speech which Khrushchev made at the 20th Congress about Stalin, has to this day not appeared in the Soviet Union.

[Korotich] We have written several times that Khrushchev's speech must be published. I think that we will have the opportunity to do this. But, while we are speaking about this, I will say that we have published very many documents which supplement this speech. What is more, today this speech does not sound so revolutionary as in 1956. At the same time, it is our opinion that we cannot focus everything on the thirties and Stalin. The, I cannot remember how many times Hero of the Soviet Union, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, for example, interests me more. Because very many things hindering our life today are connected precisely with his period, and we would like to publish documents about this period too.

[Barath] While we are on the subject of the opponents of glasnost, here in Hungary, they often operate on the phone. That is, they are to be found not just among those who write letters to the higher organs, but also among those who receive them.

[Korotich] This is possible. Of the 2,000 which we have received, not a single one came from a bureaucrat, from a person filling an official post. These are all sitting in their inner sanctums keeping quiet and waiting. It does not matter to them what will happen, they want to remain leaders. They are simply waiting to see which direction their superiors will point. This is bad, for many of them direct over the phone, trying to reconcile black with white, which ends up grey. This is awful.

[Barath] A question from Laszlo Remenyik, also from Budapest: Will they change the practice in the Soviet Union whereby important leaders are appointed for an undefined period of time? Does this not inevitably lead to a personality cult?

[Korotich] I think that this is a question that has come up quite naturally and it is my opinion that there is a need for a change of leaders. Only, the historical experience is that when Khrushchev wanted to do this, the bureaucracy immediately pulled it to pieces. I would like the strength of the people who want changes to be so great that we should be able to discuss how the change of leaders should take place. Often people — even the cleverest — if they sit at the same desk for too long, begin to think in cliches. I think that this will be one of the more widely discussed issues till the next party conference, which will be held next summer.

[Barath] How do you evaluate the activities of those important politicians who were sentenced and executed as spies, as the enemies of the people? I am thinking of Trotskiy, Bukarin, Zinovev and Kamenev. I think by now it is perfectly clear that they were not spies.

[Korotich] In my opinion, a man must not be killed because of his views. We can argue with him and can clarify matters in the course of debates. It is only the enemy who attacks us with weapons in his hands who can be killed in the battlefield. However, someone who stands up and opposes us with words must be opposed with words. With this I am not evaluating the people involved. For example, I think that when Trotskiy and Stalin fought for power, whichever of them gained power, the same thing would have happened in all probability. In my opinion, they were leaders of a very similar type. However, if we are talking about Rykohov, Bukharin, Kamenev and others, well, they did a great deal in the history of the Soviet Union and it is an absurdity that almost no one knows here that Rykhov was premier for 7 years after Lenin's death. I am very much looking forward to the documents and the articles in connection with these people.

[Barath] This next question is shorter but perhaps even more complicated than the previous one. How are the activities of Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev evaluated today?

[Korotich] Stalin was evaluated at the 20th Congress; this evaluation has not changed, it has only deepened.

[Barath] But afterwards they kept quiet about this evaluation. I was a student here in Moscow in the 1970's and at that time my professor kept quiet about the 20th Congress.

[Korotich] I think that the congress resolutions must be carried out and we are now very glad to implement the resolutions of the 20th Congress. As regards Khrushchev, I think that on the whole he was a positive phenomenon. He is owed thanks for freeing so many people and for delivering his report on Stalin. It is another matter that he himself was a member of Stalin's apparat — he also played a part in the Stalinist crimes, but he had sufficient courage and honor to state this. However, he was a poor economist and politician.

To me the Brezhnev period appears much more reactionary than the Krushchev period. It was dangerous first and foremost because a mechanism began to operate that turned a rather experienced and not too bad party worker, such a Brezhnev, into a parody of Stalin over the years, a comedy or operatta version of a dictator. I think that this period showed how dangerous an apparat is which wants to divorce the political leader from real power. Precisely for this reason, I think that now we must think through all the lessons to be learned from the periods of Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev.

[Nemes] Thinking through these lessons will not be an easy task either in the Soviet Union or elsewhere, however. After all, as appeared also from the festive speech given by Mikhail Gorbachev on Monday, it is important to critically examine phenomena of the past which even now leave their impression on our lives. An analysis of this sort always touches upon interests, it transgresses interests, at times power interests. Korotich will explain his views later on as well in this program. Let us now, however, turn to foreign politics.

[Barath] What happened during the 4 days between the U.S. secretary of state's visit to Moscow and the Soviet foriegn minister's trip to Washington? Did the Soviet position change, as Western analysts wrote, and if so, why? We posed this question to Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gerasimov:

[Gerasimov] Nothing special happened. The U.S. secretary of state spent 2 days in Moscow, as planned. Due to lack of time they were unable to finalize the summit meeting's agenda. When Shultz met Comrade Gorbachev, Gorbachev told him that he wanted to travel to the United States, but the journey must produce results and a suitable agenda was needed. On one question there was even agreement—on the question of an agreement aimed at eliminating medium-range missiles. The two sides did not manage to come to agreement on the other two questions. These were concerned with the fate of the next agreement on the 50% reduction of strategic offensive weapons and the limiting of antimissile systems. Beside these, we made new proposals regarding the level of categories of strategic offensive weapons. Owing to lack of time the United States was unable to respond to these. Comrade Gorbachev told Shultz that he would write a letter to President Reagan. This was done, and Comrade Shevardnadze took the letter and took it to Washington where they finalized plans for the summit.

[Barath] Istvan Horvath asks from Pecs: Will the Soviet-U.S. agreements not lead to a reduced international influence of small and medium-size countries, such as Hungary.

[Gerasimov] No, on the contrary. For when Soviet-U.S. relations are tense there is a tendency, especially on the part of the United States, to view every international event as a reflection of these relations. The other countries can feel that their position is, if not subordinate, but secondary. What is important in times like these is what happens between Moscow and Washington. If, as we hope, relations will now improve between Moscow and Washington, then everybody will profit from it — Budapest, Bonn and Warsaw, too, because the tension will not influence these countries' relations with the USSR or the United States.

[Barath] Gyorgy (Gerdai) asks from Budapest: Would a settlement in Afghanistan not be speeded up by the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country? In other words, he gives top priority to the withdrawal of troops, and envisages a settlement after this development.

[Gerasimov] The United States says that it would be better if troops were withdrawn from there. Our reply is that this is what we want too. We have already made a practical decision about this, but this is being hindered by the interference of the United States which is sending increasing supplies of arms to the insurgents there. We are resolutely supporting the policy of national reconciliation proclaimed by the Kabul government, and hope to withdraw the troops in the near future—the sooner the better.

[Barath] Bela Orban from Budapest asks: Is it not a sign of weakness that the USSR is making one concession after another in order to reach agreement with the United States at any price? I think our listener must belong to the older generation which is not used to the USSR reacting quickly and flexibly.

[Gerasimov] No. We are maintaining the military balance and stress that the arms reduction must not affect either our own security or that of the United States. The person who asked the question interprets U.S.-Soviet relations as direct rivalry where one side withdraws and the other side makes advances. I think it is more correct to regard the whole thing as a joint search for a way — for nuclear disarmament is in both countries' interest. Even the rich United States has serious economic difficulties — one need look no further than the recent events at the New York Stock Exchange — and one of the reasons is to be found in the huge state debts, which in turn are caused largely by the arms race. However, our diplomacy has of course become more flexible. We are prepared to listen to the other side. We try to put ourselves in their place and take their interests into consideration. Perhaps more so at present than in the past, but in the concrete case concessions are not the issue with nuclear disarmament. According to the treaty

to be signed, we shall, for example, destroy more missiles than the United States, but we do not by this act give up our security. We do not regard this as a concession, but the first step on the road of nuclear disarmament, which is in the interests of both of us.

[Barath] The next question intersts many people. When I was in Budapest a few days ago, everyone I met was asking me: What is the situation regarding Boris Yeltsin's resignation? I don't think there has been a case like this since Lenin's times, that is, that it was publicly announced that a Soviet leader had asked to be relieved of all his posts. Yet, he continues to appear in all presidiums.

[Gerasimov] I am not a Central Committee member. I did not attend the plenum but heard the comrades who did take part and also gave a statement here in the press center too. I can say that there are naturally debates at the sessions of the Central Committee, the Secretariat or the Politburo; there are even differing views and differences of opinion. So if he, that is, Yeltsin has resigned, then someone must accept this resignation, and this has not happened yet. As Comrade Yakovlev, Central Committee secretary, said at a press conference here: This is a matter for the Moscow Party Committee. These are very busy days, with large numbers of foreign guests here and everybody is concentrating on them, including Comrade Yeltsin. After all, no one has relieved him of his duties. Let us wait and see how the Moscow Party Committee decides.

[Nemes] Now Colonel-General Chervov will answer questions relating to military topics. There are some questions here which relate to Hungary.

How can it be explained that the Vienna negotiations concerning traditional weapons have remained unsuccessful so far, despite the fact that they have dragged on for so long? How could these talks be speeded up, and what consequences might arise from these negotiations as far as Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the GDR are oncerned?

[Chervov] Unfortunately, the Vienna negotiations are the negotiations of missed opportunities. They have been going on for almost 14 years. In the beginning it was the discussion over numbers which took time. Later the NATO countries began to deviate from the original goals and in practice they stuck rigidly to their own, nonconstructive positions. Yet neither one nor the other side can agree to unilateral concessions. It is our view that these negotiations could also be successful; they could, for example, conclude with a symbolic reduction in the number of Soviet and U.S. troops. Besides this, if the disarmament regotiations relating to the whole of Europe get under way, the experiences gained in Vienna will be useful. It is likely that both sides will draw the conclusion from the mistakes that have been made. Probably the Soviet side also made certain mistakes; however, having studied these matters in detail, it is clear to me that it is NATO which drew back in relation to the original negotiating position. After all, both sides must reduce not only the number of their personnel but also the armaments. NATO is not willing to do the latter.

[Barath] A great many listeners, among others Gusztav Marinov from Budapest, asked the follcwing question: In the course of the European negotiations, did the question of the withdrawal of the Soviet forces temporarily stationed in Hungary come up for discussion?

[Chervov] This issue is not discussed at the Vienna negotiations concerning Europe. It would be difficult to say how events will evolve; however, this issue is not on the agenda.

[Barath] Veronida Vecsei from Balatonfuered asked an important question. Does not the tension in the Middle East, the crisis in the Persian Gulf, endanger the Soviet-U.S. negotiations? After all, the war is near to the Soviet border.

[Chervov] Naturally, the events in the Persian Gulf are exacerbating the situation and, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said at his meeting with Shultz, the further sharpening of the situation by the U.S. side could exert an influence on Soviet-U.S. relations as well. It rationality does not win out in the United States, if military force is used, this will have very serious consequences.

[Barath] The Western press often points out that there are Soviet ships in the area as well.

[Chervov] No, this is a frivolous point. We have only five or six warships there and these do not represent any threat to anyone. They were there before as well and there are no more warships there now than there were before. It is another matter that since the Vietnam War the U.S. side has practically never concentrated so many warships in the Persian Gulf as now. What is more, five West European countries and Japan also sent some of their warships there. Naturally, this contributes to the increase of the danger of war in this region.

[Barath] In the Western press one can often read speculations that the Soviet military leaders are concerned the negotiations on the reduction of armaments could weaken the security of the Soviet Union.

[Chervov] These are all inventions, frivolous matters. We are aware of Western statements to the effect that the Soviet political leadership is in favor of a reduction but the soldiers are hindering the military leadership in achieving it. This is not true. First of all, we are all working under the direction of the Communist Party. I have been a communist since 1943. For me party discipline is the most important thing, it stands above everything else.

Naturally, I can tell you my personal opinion on any issue; however, once a decision is taken, we realize this decision jointly with the party. Thus there is not only no opposition, there is not even any divergence between the political, the state and the military leaderships, in any of the socialist countries. Our position is united, we have the same world view, the same discipline.

[Nemes] We shall now pose some more questions to Vitaliy Koritich, editor of *Ogonek*. Our man in Moscow is still Jozsef Barath:

[Barath] I have heard recently that the Soviet economy is still a variant of the Stalinist system, with only coercion missing, and the most fundamental reason for the stagnation of the past years is that this system does not work without coercion.

[Korotich] I think there is no Stalinist system without coercion—that is a different system. In Stalin's time people worked a lot but received very little; they were very poor. Unfortunately, people simply no longer worked under Brezhnev, and labor productivity fell catastrophically. As we reform the Soviet economy we try to push it onto realistic rails, because it had simply been derailed. While we were driven to work under Stalin, there were people who worked enthusiastically, out of conviction. Many sacrificed their lives for work, asking nothing in return. But under Brezhnev lying and cheating grew stronger.

I think the Stalinist bureaucrats were often naive orthodox people who could not steal. They were honest but very blinkered. [sentence as heard] Under Brezhnev a new kind of bureaucrat appeared: The cynical scoundrel who wanted to steal more and more for himself. In this sense the Brezhnev era was, in my view, very dangerous.

[Barath] Pal Jakab asks: What are the first fruits of the restructuring, not in the spiritual but in the material sense?

[Korotich] The process of restoring the economy is a very long one. In my pesonal opinion about 3 to 5 years must pass before the first real results are achieved, and then progress will have been very quick. I think in a huge country like ours it cannot be done in shorter time. For this reason patience and political thinking are needed. People must understand that their fate will not be better tomorrow, only the day after tomorrow, and for this they must work today.

[Barath] Another listener asks: She read the other day that some of the crop is left out on the fields in the USSR. Why?

[Korotich] Primarily because the harvesting of crops has been poorly organized, but formally because the frost came very early. The situation is that if potatoes are still in the ground when the frost arrives, then there is no point in harvesting them.

[Barath] And what about corn?

[Korotich] The harvesting of corn was simply bad. This still shows the poor organization of our agriculture. We do not even know how many people work in agriculture. When the harvesting begins everybody from the Foreign Ministry to editorial offices goes to harvest corn. Why this is needed I do not know.

[Barath] Even doctors and surgeons.

[Korotich] Yes, even doctors and surgeons. They destroy their hands. Once they took people from us, the editorial office, to pick tomatoes. I have calculated the amount the state has paid them in wages for these days.

This was three times the price of the tomatoes they had picked. There was a film, perhaps you remember, in which the professor places his calling card in every box of potatoes so that people knew who had done that for them. This is the badly organized agriculture.

From the next year the reform of agriculture may be the most important. I think the situation will be better when the family contract will be the fundamental form in agriculture.

[Barath] And will it become a fundamental form?

[Korotich] Yes. In 1988-1989 practically all farms will switch over to the new system. Loss-making farms will become household plots for large enterprises. So everything will be better—or at least we would like to think so.

[Barath] Do you think a parallel can be drawn between the current situation and NEP, the New Economic Policy of the twenties?

[Korotich] I do not think so. NEP was simply a Leninist experiment for involving people's initiative in socialism. Stalin of course reversed this immediately. NEP was introduced in a Russia that was more similar to Hungary of 1945 than the USSR of 1985. In those days all private enterpreneurs still existed, no one knew anything about socialism. They simply returned and did what they had done before.

[Barath] Which would not go amiss today, either.

[Korotich] Of course not. But there are no longer such people today. So precisely for this reason, now that we try to let individual initiative unfold we are trying, organizing, but this experience is lacking. We have killed off in a great many peasants the interest in land cultivation.

[Barath] Surprisingly few requests for permission to engage in private enterprise have arrived in Moscow. I do not know the precise number, but perhaps a few thousand.

[Korotich] Yes, this is too few. Everybody is staying put and waiting. I think this is not a good thing. People's interest must once again be aroused. The whole sense of the October Revolution is that he who works well must live better than the person who does nothing.

[Nemes] Yes, there are perhaps fewer problems with small scale enterprise in our country, although I think if we had looked at the operation of bigger enterprises and the economy as a whole, Korotich's analysis would not have seemed so alien or exotic. This rather critical analysis is well supplemented by the questions put to Professor Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

[Barath] There are more scientists working in the Soviet Union than anywhere else in the world. However, neither the number of Soviet Nobel prizewinners nor the results of the scientific-technological revolution indicate that their work is successful. What is the reason for this and what measures have been brought in to improve the effectiveness of scientific work?

[Velikhov] First of all, science is nowadays produced not by quantity but by quality. In the 1960's there was a sudden increase in the number of scientists in our country. However, naturally, this did not reflect the qualitative processes. At the present time about 5 percent of the scientific resources of the country are concentrated in the Soviet Academy of Sciences. However, if we look at the results that have been achieved, the proportion is immeasurably greater. This is so not only in the theoretical basic sciences but in the practical sphere as well. In other areas, on the other hand, there has indeed been a certain devaluation, quite simply because the resources were not directed to where they should have been.

[Velikhov continues] In the 1960's the easiest path was chosen; the number of scientists was increased. However, the provisions made for them were not changed. Yet, the effectiveness, the success of the scientists also depends on the instruments that he uses. Then, however strange this may seem, the branch scientific institutes became barriers to the spread of certain scientific ideas which appeared in the Academy and in the institutions of higher education. These branch scientific institutions expropriated the channels between industry and the scientists. The branch institutions are now turning to a system of self-accounting; in other words, they will carry out their work on the basis of orders received from industry. This in itself will put scientific research on a much more realistic basis, but we hope, we hope very much, that industry will also become much more oriented toward and interested in the utilization of scientific results.

[Barath] A great many listeners have asked the following questions: What stage has the development of a Soviet space shuttle reached? Can the *Mir* receive U.S. satellites and what plans have been developed with the Americans for cooperation in this area?

[Velikhov] Let us start with the last question regarding cooperation. We have just signed a general agreement concerning cooperation, but there is a need for specific topics as yet. We are now studying, among other things, the plan to fly to Mars. Several countries are participating in this. However, as far as I have been able to observe, it is not easy to cooperate with the United States, because for the moment there are still restrictions, which the U.S. Administration brought in regarding the use of certain American instruments in these joint experiments.

Concerning the question of joining up with the *Mir* space station, though I am not familiar with the technical details, I do not see why this should not be possible. Naturally, this would require joint preparatory work, such as what happened when the *Soyuz* and the *Apollo* were linked up.

I am not familiar with the details regarding the satellite that can be used more than once. However, it is well known that we possess such powerful carrier rockets, rockets which are capable of placing 100 tonnes into space, that on the whole I am not in favor of missiles that can be used more than once. The evaluations of our American colleagues also show that the missile which can be used more than once used up too much money and impoverished the space program. I think that at the moment it is much more sensible to work on carrier rockets which can only partially be retrieved or which cannot be retrieved at all.

[Barath] In the sphere of computing, has the Soviet Union set itslef the goal of catching up with Japan and the United States, or is it the most that it can aspire to at the moment to ensure that the existing lag does not become greater?

[Velikhov] It has to be said that regarding the magnitude of computer technology, it is a very difficult task for us to catch up with these countries. This cannot be done very quickly. We have already achieved the first result, in that the lag is not increasing, but we neglected this area for a very long time and now we must develop an enormous infrastructure for it. Obsolescence sets in in the sphere of the installations required for the manufacture of microprocessors and memories in 3 years. In other words, these must be manufactured very rapidly and in large quantities. The size of this industrial sector is not too large. In order to attain the Japanese standard, while at the same time fulfilling the quantitative requirements, well, this branch is already developing much faster than the other sectors, but it requires even faster development.

[Nemes] The question of nationalism was for a long time taboo in the USSR. Vitaliy Korotich once again answers questions.

[Barath] Why have nationalist phenomena, demonstrations, become more frequent in recent years?

[Korotich] Such things happened in the past too, but we did not know about them. In the present circumstances of greater openness nationalists also have been given more freedom of speech. Besides this, a new factor has I think appeared. It is much easier for the bad leader to say that the sausage he has been unable to come up with has been eaten in another republic, than to admit the truth, that is, that there is no sausage. Some local leaders began to encourage this. It has to be said honestly that the nationalism issue is so sharp that many of our enemies are also now trying to use it to explode, within the conditions of openness, the country from within. What has happened in Kazakhstan, with the Crimean Tatars, in the Russian Remembrance Society — Pamyat — or in the Baltic is nothing more than strong excesses of nationalism.

[Barath] As we are talking about Pamyat, Jozsef Horvath from Pecs asks: What is your opinion of spontaneous unofficial associations?

[Korotich] I see no danger in them, though I think the extremists must be detached from them. We must work with them and meet their members. Pamyat's membership are decent people who stood up for the preservation of monuments. But suddenly anti-Semites and chauvinists appeared at the head of the organization, who introduced quite simply hostile slogans. The Remembrance Committee has thus become one of the most reactionary organizations today. This is of course a lesson which must not be allowed again, but for the moment we are only learning democracy, I think, and everything is ahead of us.

[Barath] What are the social roots of anti-Semitic manifestations among members of the Pamyat organization? Does this ideology have a real effect on society?

[Korotich] Of course it does. Gorbachev proposes a complex solution, and people have always favored simple solutions. Gorbachev says that this and that must be produced, people must work, labor productivity, percentages. So someone turns up and says that this is much easier. Why the fuss — there is no problem? This is the method employed even by the former Czarist Russian secret police. I would not like to speak in detail about the history of anti-Semitism and chauvinism, but in the history of Europe all the dark pages have been linked to this. Chauvinism of any kind must be stopped and condemned.

[Barath] Tamas Feher asks from Budapest: What is your opinion of the awarding of this year's Nobel Prize for literature? How do you assess Brodskiy's poetry?

[Korotich] Brodskiy is a good poet, but I think that the decision of the Nobel Committee is not primarily a literary decision but, rather, a political one. A great deal now depends on whether Brodskiy allows himself to be used for political purposes. So far he has behaved quite correctly. When I was asked whether we shall publish him and I was given the phone number of his publisher in the United States, the message I sent to Brodskiy was that I would not like to publish the works of a poet who considers himself Russian through the offices of an American publisher. If he sends us his poems then we shall publish them.

[Barath] But still, what kind of a poet is he? To which generation does he belong? What kind of poetry does he write? How did he get to the United States? We know very little about him in Hungary.

[Korotich] He belongs to my generation; he is about 50 years old. In Leningrad he lived in very difficult circumstances. He was strongly persecuted at the end fo the sixties, early seventies. There were many similar cases in our country at that time. As a result of this, he emigrated from the country and went to the United States. I have to say that he was more reserved than Solzhenitsyn, for instance, or others. In any case, he is now one of the most interesting poets, although I do not feel he is at present the poet of poets.

[Barath] In your view, does Soviet culture need the emigres, or is it better to erase them from social consciousness?

[Korotich] In my opinion no one needs to be erased, not even enemies. If someone builds a nice house and then commits a crime there is no need to blow up the house, as has been the custom in our country. At most, what has to be said is that this house is our property, but the architect was not a good man. I think, by the way, that we have already published all valuable works by emigre writers who are no longer alive—Nabokov, Khodasevich, all of them. There is a strong tradition of creative work in emigration in Russian literature. Gogol, Turgenev, Dostoyevskiy and many others have lived abroad.

If we are talking about today, emigration from the USSR is always connected with political choice. Emigres like Solzhenitsyn work actively on the enemy's side, but people like Brodskiy do not adopt an extremist hostile stance. Rather, they adopt the stance of a man who does not agree with certain political principles in the country, but continues to respect the country as the source of his origins and his art. So I think we must deepen our relations with people who recognize their links to their homeland. The motherland, if she really is a mother, must constantly watch where her children have been dispersed, and must endeavor to see and hear all of them.

United States & Canada

Reagan Remarks to OAS Session Criticized

LD100951 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 10 TASS—On Monday President Reagan spoke in the Department of State before the participants in the annual session of the general assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS).

Official spokesmen of the White House had publicised the remarks in advance as a major statement setting out the President's stand concerning the situation in Central America.

Mr Reagan pointed out that "the business at hand is to determine compliance with the Guatemala Accord". In so doing the called "to examine with clear-eyed realism the progress of peace and democracy in Central America".

However, the President's remarks sounded no such realism. In point of fact they boiled down to attacks on the Nicaraguan Government which the U.S. President accused of unwillingness to comply with the Guatemala Accords. In so doing Reagan passed over in silence the numerous measures which the Sandinists have taken within the framework of fulfilment of the obligations they had taken upon themselves in Guatemala in the conditions of the on-going aggression on the part of the contras.

It followed from the President's remarks that the U.S. Administration will recognize as the only "proof" of the Nicaraguan Government's compliance with the Guatemala Accord only the start of direct negotiations with the contras who are being supported, armed, and directed by the CIA.

Resorting to distortion of the realities existing in the region, Reagan cited as an example the Salvadoran regime's talks with representatives of patriotic forces.

But, as the Sandinist government has repeatedly emphasized, the contras represent no one, and their true masters are in Washington. In El Salvador, the struggle against the anti-popular regime is being waged by the patriots who enjoy the population's broadest support.

"The United States has a role to play as a neighbour of Central America and an ally of the region's four democracies", the President said.

"Our goals are simple to state: democracy in Nicaragua and peace in the region", he pointed out. However, it is well-known what kind of democracy has been prepared for the Nicaraguan people in Washington which continuously supplies arms and money to the Somozists who practise sanguinary terror on the republic's territory.

Reagan said Secretary of State George Shultz "will be ready to meet jointly with the foreign ministers of all five Central American nations, including the Sandinists' representatives." But, as an indispensable condition for such a meeting the U.S. President again put forward a demand for direct negotiations between the Nicaraguan Government and the contras.

"Before such a meeting, and throughout this period", he said, "we will consult closely with the freedom-fighters". This is how the contras are referred to in Washington.

Reagan stated that "it's been no one's interest to let this peace process become another round of endless and fruitless negotiations".

But it is precisely the United States that through its actions does everything not only to drag out the process but also to frustrate it by continuing to give aid to the contras.

Reagan Asks for Considerable Philippine Aid

PM101209 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Military Aid For the Philippines"]

[Text] Washington, 8 Nov—Speaking on Saturday in his regular radio broadcast to the country, President R. Reagan announced that he has asked the U.S. Congress to allocate "considerable economic and military assistance" to the Philippines. "Only a few countries are of such strategic importance for the United States as the Philippines," he stressed.

Speaking about the situation in the country, whose territory houses the two largest U.S. military bases outside the United States — the Clark Field air base and Subic Bay naval base — Reagan pointed out that the situation in the Philippines remains complex and Corazon Aquino's civilian government faces "difficulties and threats." The President affirmed that the threat to stability on the Philippines stems from a "communist coup."

U.S. Minuteman-2 Test 'Failure' Reported

LD100730 Moscow TASS in English 0721 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] San Francisco November 10 TASS—An Intercontinental Minuteman-2 Ballistic Missile test has been a failure.

The missile was blown up on command from the control centre a few seconds after its blast off from the launch pad at the Vandenberg Airbase, California. Missile fragments caused a number of forest and shrub fires.

A representative of the U.S. Air Force, who reported the incident, refused to disclose the character of the faults which led to the destruction of the missile, which costs several million dollars.

The United States has held by now 127 Minuteman Missile tests within the framework of the programme of perfecting strategic offensive armaments.

'Midway', Other U.S. Ships Head for Persian Gulf

LD100939 Moscow TASS in English 0708 GMT 10 Nov 87

[tExt] Manila November 10 TASS—The American aircraft-carrier *Midway* escorted by other surface warships and submarines has sailed out of the Subic Bay base in the Philippines towards the Persian Gulf, a U.S. military spokesman announced today.

Rocket Booster Ring Seal Test Encouraging

LD101022 Moscow TASS in English 1008 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 10 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Chytov reports:

The U.S. Morton Thiokol Corporation conducted another test of a solid-fuel rocket booster for reusable spacecraft at a test site in Utah. The purpose of the experiment was to demonstrate the reliability of ring seals around the joints of the rocket booster. It is the defect of a ring seal produced by Morton Thiokol that brought about the disaster of the *Challenger* spacecraft.

In order to check the air-tightness of the joint, the pressure was created during the test equal to the one that develops in the engine when it is started at its full capacity. The ring seals kept hot gases inside the solid-fuel rocket booster under pressure for about two minutes. Rockie Raab, representative of the corporation, told TASS that the preliminary results of the test looked encouraging.

Near East & South Asia

Tunisian President Deposed by Prime Minister

'Compelled' To Act Over Illness

LD071048 Moscow TASS in English 1012 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Tunis November 7 TASS—President Habib Bourguiba was deposed on Saturday by Tunisian Prime Minister Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Tunis radio reported.

The Prime minister announced in a communique that the decision was taken in accordance with the nation's constitution and "on the basis of a medical report."

Ben Ali said that the duty compelled him to assume the Presidency and the supreme command of the armed forces due to Bourguiba's age and illness which made him incapable of performing the duties of president.

Ben Ali was appointed prime minister on October 2 this year. He had earlier held the post of minister of state for the interior.

A new government was formed. Hedi Baccouche, who had earlier held the post of minister for social affairs, became prime minister.

Mahmoud Mestiri, appointed Tunisia's ambassador to France a few days ago, took up the job of foreign minister.

Some other changes in the government were made.

Sworn in by Parliament

LD071834 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Tunis November 7 TASS—The new president of the republic of Tunisia, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, who came to power today, was sworn in at a plenary meeting of the parliament, the TAP news agency reported.

The new president, who is also the commander-in-chief of the national Armed Forces, named a new government led by Prime Minister Hedi Baccouche.

Baccouche Party Leader

LD072220 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Tunis November 8 TASS—Tunisia's new President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, who was general secretary of the ruling Socialist Destour Party, became the party's chairman, the TAP News Agency reports. Its leaderhsip said in a statement that under party rules the general secretary becomes an acting chairman of the party if this post is vacant in a period between congresses. The party's chairman was the toppled president, Habib Bourguiba. Prime Minister Hedi Baccouche was appointed the party's general secretary.

Libya Opposes U.S. Military Supplies to Chad

LD091420 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Text] Tripoli November 9 TASS—The U.S.decision to supply "Stinger" anti-aircraft missile to Ndjamena confirms that Washington is out to internationalize the conflict in Chad and to continue with interfering in that region by having recourse to military means, says a statement by the People's Bureau for External Liaison of Libya.

The United States takes a direct part in the Chadian-Libyan conflict by using on a wide scale its specialists, servicemen and military equipment, the statement says. This way, it torpedoes all efforts by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to solve the Chadian problem within the framework of Africa and in line with the will of its people.

Wahington's stand runs counter to the decisions passed by the OAU special committee for settling relations between Chad and Libya at its session in Lusaka last September. The committee urged all states, primarily the United States, to cut off weapons shipments to Chad and refrain from actions leading to the escalation of tension in the region.

The move to give military aid to Chad harbours a direct threat to the security of the Libyan Jamahiriyah, the People's Bureau stated. An agreement on the delivery of "Stinger" missiles exposes the aggressive nature of the U.S. intentions with regard to Libya, confirms its permanent bid to encroach upon the security of African countries and kindle new armed conflicts in the interests of imperialism.

Ambassadors of the Arab and African countries, to whom this statement was handed over, were invited to the People's Bureau for External Liaison Sunday, Libyan radio reported. Libya also sent messages to U.N. secretary-general and OAU chairman, warning about the dangerous consequences of the U.S. decision to send "Stinger" missiles to Chad to the cause of peace and stability in Africa.

Extraordinary Arab Summit Meeting Opens

LD081636 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 8 Nov 87

[Text] Amman November 8 TASS—An extraordinary meeting of the Arab heads of state and government opened in the Jordanian capital today.

On the agenda of the meeting are issues which are connected with the tense situation in the Persian Gulf area, an end to the Iran-Iraq armed conflict, a Middle East settlement, the strengthening of Arab unity, and other topical problems of the Arab world.

Husayn Calls for Joint Action

LD091113 Moscow TASS in English 1008 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Text] Amman November 9 TASS—The Arab-Israeli conflict is the main problem of the Arabs, said King Husayn of Jordan. He addressed an extra-ordinary Arab summit conference which opened here on Sunday. It is attended by 20 Arab countries and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The speaker called upon the representatives of the Arab states for broad joint actions in the inter-Arab scene and noted that bilateral relations cannot be a substitute. The Iran-Iraq war imperils the whole region. It carries a threat to world peace, and joint efforts should be put up against this danger, he said.

The continuing Iran-Iraq war exerts a pernicious effect on nationanl security and defence capacity of Arab countries in the face of Zionist Israel, on attainment of our main goal—the liberation of the occupied Arab lands and opposition to Tel Aviv's designs of expansion, said general secretary of the league of Arab States, Chedli Klibi. The continuation of the armed conflict in the Persian Gulf, he said, enables Israel to broaden the proportions of the aggression, since the events in the Gulf area divert the attention of the world public opinion from Tel Aviv's actions on the occupied lands and its interference in Lebanon.

The general secretary of the League of Arab States called upon the Arabs to take joint actions regionally and internationally so as to promote compliance within a brief period of time with the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 598, which calls for immediate termination of hostilities between Iran and Iraq and peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Summit

LD061602 Moscow TASS in English 1536 GMT 6 Nov 87

["Middle East: TASS Interviews Foreign Ministry Spokesman"]

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—A TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

In connection with vigorous contacts among Arab countries aimed at convening extraordinary Arab summit in Amman on the 8th of November, a TASS diplomatic correspondent asked a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman what results can be expected from the forum.

I believe it is too early to make predictions, to try to forestall the outcome of the Amman forum, the USSR foreign ministry spokesman said. One thing is clear: The holding of the Arab conference in itself might become an event of importance for the Middle East as such a meeting in full composition could not be held over the past five years, since the Arab summit in Fes.

Important questions about the ways to establish a durable peace in the region will be in the focus of attention of Arab leaders. The tragedy of the Palestinian people which is central to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the oldest regional conflict of the present, has been lasting four decades. Palestinian and other Arab lands seized by Israel in June 1967 remain under Israeli occupation. The Lebanese wound does not heal and is bleeding for many years now. The Middle East has become a scene of

bloody wars, dangerous crises and conflicts in which its material and intellectual resources are being exhausted and its people distracted from the road of creative development, and international peace and security threatened.

It is believed in Moscow, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said, that it is long since time to change this dangerous course of events, to pool the efforts to convene a full-fledged international conference on the Middle East. Arabs themselves can and must play an important, if not the fundamental, role in this.

The flame of the Iran-Iraq war is blazing for the eighth year now. The war resulted in countless victims and large destruction for both peoples. The persian Gulf where an unprecedented buildup of the military presence of the USA and its NATO allies takes place earned an ill fame of a powder keg. We believe as ever that the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 598 which, as we know, Arab countries support offers a reasonable and balanced foundation for a prompt and fair Iran-Iraq settlement, the USSR foreign Ministry spokesman said. The main thing now is to press for its implementation in full volume, to promote to the utmost the peace-making mission of the United Nations secretary general.

The safety of shipping in the Persian Gulf must be reliably ensured. And the road to this is a collective will of the international community, not the NATO military armada whose presence in the Gulf only pours oil into the fire. The necessary and sufficient naval forces must be placed at the United Nations disposal.

We hope tha the Amman summit will make a constructive contribution to the quest of a political settlement of acute regional problems, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. The Soviet Union has always been in favour of the consolidation of Arab action. It wishes sincerily that the Amman forum bring to a higher level cooperation and coordinated action of Arabs in the struggle for a peaceful and secure future of states and nations of the Near and Middle East.

Soviet Envoys in Baghdad Discuss Gulf War

Say Moscow Waiting on UN

JN061605 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1300 GMT 6 Nov 87

[By Faruq Shukri]

[Text] Baghdad, 6 Nov (WAKH)—Soviet Charge D'affaires in Baghdad Vladimir Vodyakhin [name and title as received] has said that his country does not oppose a UN Security Council resolution to impose sanctions on the party that rejects an end to the Iraq-Iran war.

In an exclusive statement to a WAKH correspondent in Baghdad, Vodyakhin said that Moscow is waiting for the steps the UN secretary general will take after he has received the replies of the two warring countries to the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598, and his recent deductions in this regard. He stressed that the USSR has always supported and still supports Iraq's efforts to achieve peace and end the war. He pointed out that the USSR considers UN Security Council Resolution 598 a sound and good basis for settling all pending problems and acheiving a political and a peaceful solution to the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran.

Vodyakhin added: We support the implementation of the resolution and all its clauses and principles. This means that we support a cease-fire, the withdrawal of forces to recognized borders, the exchange of POW's, and the implementation of the other clauses of the resolution. Vodyakhin denied that the USSR is against any subsequent UN Security Council steps against the party that refuses to end the war. He said: We want any UN Security Council steps to be effective and practical with guarantees, because the implementation of such steps will produce the required benefit.

He described relations between the USSR and Iraq as very good. He said: The sun is bright on these relations and there are no clouds over them as some sides like to depict. He said Iraq is currently witnessing celebrations of Soviet-Iraqi friendship at a time when an official Iraqi representative is participating in October Revolution celebrations in Moscow.

The Soviet charge d'affaires said Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet first deputy foreign minister, stressed to Iraqi officials during his visit to Baghdad last month that the Soviet stand will never change and that Moscow still supports Iraq's efforts to end the war. He added that the Iraqis showed an understanding of this stand that was conveyed by the Soviet official.

Vodyakhin denied that his country is thinking of unilateral steps to end the war. He said: We have always insisted that all actions and steps to end the war should be within the framework of the United Nations and the agreement among the UN Security Council member states when Resolution 598 was issued. He added: We seek to maintain this agreement and safeguard this unity among the UN Security Council member states in our later actions regarding the acheivement of peace in the region. He pointed out that the USSR believes a solution can be acheived within the framework of the United Nations and on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 598. He added: We are ready to exert efforts within the framework of the United Nations just like other sides to end the war as soon as possible.

The Soviet charge d'affaires described Hashemi Rafsanjani's statements in which he attacked the United Nations and stressed that Iran will continue the war as language for local consumption. Replying to a question

in this regard, Vodyakhin said: It seems the Iranians have two languages, one for foreign use and the other for local use. Rafsanjani's statements are within the framework of local use.

He reiterated his country's call for forming a war fleet in the Arabian Gulf under the UN flag in order to protect international navigation. He said this fleet expresses Moscow's commitment to a joint, not unilateral, action. He added that this fleet will also help ease the situation in the Gulf. However, Vodyakhin expressed support for Iraq's call for ending the war before withdrawing fleets from the Arabian Gulf. He said: We view this issue as a whole. The ending of the war would settle all problems. He said Iran will face a joint UN force which will protect freedom of navigation in the Gulf and defend the security and independence of the neighboring Gulf states. The Soviet charge d'affaires reiterated his country's stand which rejects any aggressions against neighboring Gulf states that are not involved in the war. He said: We condemn the aggressions to which Kuwait has been recently subjected regardless of which party or side perpetrates these aggressions, including Iran.

The Soviet official described reports stating an agreement to export Iranian oil through Soviet territory was signed as "exaggerated talk." He added that no such agreement has been signed. However, he indicated that the Soviet Union has been seeking to develop its ties with Iran for several years, even during the Shah's era, since this falls within the framework of its policy which seeks to develop foreign relations with all world states in general and neighboring states in particular. He added that the Soviet Union has used all of its ties, meetings, and links to urge the Iranians to work toward ending the war. Continuing, he said: Restoring tranquillity to the region and ending the war would help all to develop mutual cooperation and exchanges, and enhance mutual links and relations.

Vodyakhin said his country has always sought to put an immediate end to the war, bring about a cessation of military operations, and resolve all disputed issues between the two parties at the negotiating table and through peaceful means. He repeated a statement made by Andrey Gromyko, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, to the effect that 1 year of strenuous peace talks is much better than 1 day of easy war. He added that the Soviet Union seeks to bring about peace and end the war, and that it does not want to see a repetition of the tragedy that befell the Balat al-Shuhada' School in Baghdad.

The Soviet charge d'affaires declined to answer a question on press reports circulated to the effect that arms deals have been recently concluded between the PRC and Iran, and said that the Chinese are capable of answering this question. However, he stressed that there is no arms cooperation between his country and Iran. He added: We are not supplying Iran with weapons, and we do not intend to do so in the future as long as the war continues.

The Soviet official cast doubt on the possibility of world states applying an embargo resolution if such a resolution is adopted by the UN Security Council. He added that it would be easy for the Soviet Union to apply an embargo resolution adopted in this regard and on any other issue. However, he said: What would be the situation of private sector companies in Britain, for example? Would these companies abide by the resolution taken by the British Government on the embargo issue. He also questioned the black market situation and said: We must keep in mind the problem of Israel which is supplying Iran with weapons. For this reason, the Soviet Union seeks to secure a guaranteed embargo, he said in conclusion.

Not 'Ambiguous' Toward War

JN081005 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0835 GMT 8 Nov 87

[Text] Al-Shariqah, 8 Nov (WAKH)—Soviet Ambassador to the UAE Nikolayevich Feliks Fedotov has denied that his country is adopting an ambiguous stand toward the Iraq-Iran war or that it rejects imposing sanctions on the party which rejects the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598.

In an interview with Al-Shariqah *Al-Khalij* published today, the Soviet ambassador said that the interference of external forces in the conflict, the protraction of the war, as well as the contradictions and backgrounds behind the initiation of the war have all complicated the issue. He stressed that his country's stand toward the war has remained unchanged since its beginning. He added that the Soviets are convinced that United Nations collective efforts exerted through the UN Security Council to implement its resolution and support the UN secretary general's mission are the only means for action in this regard. He indicated that the Soviet proposal on deploying UN forces under the supervision of the chiefs of staff of the member states of the UN Secuirty Council is a suitable solution for protecting navigation in the Gulf and ending the war. At the same time. he stressed the need to give the UN secretary general the time needed to visit both Iraq and Iran and other states for negotiations on implementing the UN Security Council resolution.

The Soviet ambassador pointed out that the Soviets do not support accelerating endeavors to impose sanctions, because the imposition of sanctions would completely close the door for diplomacy, and it would then be hard to predict the consequences of such a measure. He continued: If however, negotiations and diplomacy result in nothing, sanctions will be indispensable.

Fedotov said the Soviet Union has doubts that the Americans are using the war as a pretext for maintaining a gigantic military presence permanently in the region. He added that Soviet leader Gorbachev asked U. S. Secretary of State Shultz about this and that he also told him that calling for ending the war and imposing sanctions is not in harmony with the continuation of foreign presence. He reiterated that the Soviets have condemned tanker attacks in the Gulf and acts of aggression against Kuwait, as these attacks and acts do not help the efforts exerted to help implement the UN Security Council resolution. He rejected Kuwaiti and Iraqi press comments expressing dissatisfaction with the Soviet stand. He added that his country is bound to Iraq by a treaty of friendship and that this is not the case with Iran.

Soviet Soldiers Honored by DRA Military Leaders
PM061717 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Oct 87 First Edition p 5

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik dispatch: "Reception of Soviet Soldiers"]

[Text] Kabul—A reception of Soviet soldiers has been held inthe DRA Armed Forces Military-Political College in connection with the anniversary of the Lenin Komsomol. Those invited included Officers A. Zakharov, Y. Boyko, Y. Potonya, S. Kozlov, and V. Falkov, Senior Warrant Officer A. Shitov, Warrant Officer A. Novikov, Junior Sergeant V. Sinitskiy, Private R. Yevtushenko, and other servicemen from the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

Lieutenant General M. Rafi, DRA minister of defense, and Major General Z. Ziyarmal, chief of the Afghan Army Main Political Directorate, conferred diplomas and memorial gifts on the Soviet servicemen.

East Europe

East Germany's Mueckenberger Received in Kiev
AU101041 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Nov 87 p 2

[RATAU report: "A Conversation in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 4 November A. A. Titarenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and second secretary, met E. Mueckenberger, SED Central Committee Politburo member, chairman of the Party Control Commission under the SED Central Committee, and chairman of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, who arrived in the USSR for the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

During a warm and friendly conversation, information was exchanged about the progress made in the Ukraine in implementing decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and of the successive CPSU Central Committee plenums aimed at accelerating socioeconomic development and at profound restructuring of all aspects of Soviet society's life, and about implementation in the GDR of measures adopted by the 11th SED Congress to strengthen the country's economic potential on the basis of modern scientific and technological achievements, and of developing all-round cooperation with the socialist countries. The great importance of expanding relations among public organizations was emphasized for further consolidation of friendly relations between the peoples of the USSR and the GDR.

Participating in the conversation were A. E. Voss, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Central Board of the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR; A. V. Merkulov, department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; V. P. Osnach, presidium chairman of the Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; and S. Heldtke, GDR consul general in Kiev.

Dobrynin Meets With SED's Axen
PM101201 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Meetings at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with G. Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on 6 November.

During the conversation, questions of further development of cooperation between the CPSU and SED in international affairs and some concrete problems of European security were discussed.

V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, took part in the conversation, which was held in a cordial atmosphere.

AUCCTU Delegation Leaves for Budapest
PM061739 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Nov 87 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Delegation Departs"]

[Text] A Soviet trade union delegation headed by AUCCTU Secretary V.N. Makeyev left Moscow by air for Budapest 1 November to attend a USSR-Hungarian Trade Union festival devoted to the 70th anniversary of Great October at the invitation of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions.

Friendship Rally Held

PM091609 Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Nov 87 p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent N. Yugov: "USSR Trade Union Days in Hungary"]

[Text] Budapest, 3 Nov—Meetings of Hungarian and Soviet workers and trade unionists and scientific conferences and symposiums will be organized as part of the days marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. A delegation of Soviet trade unions headed by AUCCTU Secretary V.N. Makeyev, and labor teams of workers from Lvov and Sochi have arrived in Hungary.

A Soviet-Hungarian friendship rally was held 2 November at the "Kabron" combine—the country's largest light industry enterprise—in the city of Komlo, situated in the west of Hungary. The enterprise was awarded a commemorative AUCCTU banner. The Hungarian labor collective earned this high award through its outstanding production achievements and victory in international socialist competition in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

Awarding the "Kabron" collective the banner, the leader of the Soviet delegation observed that the enterprise's history was a graphic example of friendship and fruitful cooperation between the USSR and Hungary. He spoke about Soviet trade union activity and the progress of Soviet restructuring. He stressed that democracy, glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism are becoming increasingly established and that trade union rights are increasing.

The exhibition "USSR Trade Unions in the Year of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution" has opened in one of Budapest's largest halls, the "Mom" plant's cultural center, as part of the festivities.

On 3 November, there was a meeting between the Soviet delegation and the leadership of the National Trade Union Council during which Hungarian friends were informed about features and forms of Soviet trade union work under restructuring and results of labor collectives' activity under conditions of self-financing.

On the same day, the Soviet trade union delegation visited the "Budaflax" textile enterprise, which is well known at home and abroad. The enterprise has extensive ties with the Soviet Union, exporting 60% of its products to our country. A Soviet-Hungarian friendship rally was held there and a commemorative AUCCTU banner presented to the collective.

"The effective use of the results of scientific and technical progress is the key question in USSR-Hungarian cooperation," AUCCTU Secretary V.N. Makeyev stressed in his speech at the rally. "The efforts of our parties, governments, and trade unions have been directed to that end. Particular attention is being paid to developing new forms of collaboration among the two countries' enterprises and labor collectives. Direct cooperative ties have been successfully developing for many years now between Vilnius' 'Linas' association and 'Budaflax.' The enterprises have, moreover, gone further and are creating a joint enterprise to produce linen goods."

Antonov on Expansion of Soviet-Romanian Ties

AU091635 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Nov 87 p 4

[Article by Aleksey Antonov, vice chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, entitled: "Following an Upward Trend"]

[Text] The Great October, the 70th anniversary of which is also being celebrated, along with the Soviet people, by the working people of socialist countries and by the whole of progressive mankind, has promoted certain principles in international relations that are radically different from all previous experience. These principles are based on ideas of proletarian internationalism, equality of rights, and friendship among nations, and have characterized overall postwar Soviet-Romanian cooperation. With the assistance of the Land of the Soviets, Romanian industry has developed many of its modern branches, and our two countries have embarked upon a broad exchange of experience in the economy and science.

The scope and significance of Soviet-Romanian relations are growing year by year. Our countries are jointly solving many key issues of our economic development: Mutual commodity exchanges have registered marked dynamism; joint projects to build and modernize industrial enterprises in Romania have been extended; a number of projects in the extractive industry are being implemented in the USSR with Romanian participation; and the range of bilateral scientific-technical relations has been diversified.

New prospects for further expansion of our bilateral relations have been opened up by the long-term program to develop economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and the SR of Romania up to the year 2000, a program which was signed last year at the highest level. Relevant bodies in the two countries have elaborated detailed programs on increasing bilateral cooperation in ten of the most important industrial branches. They also established directions for development of production sharing and specialization, and of other modern forms of cooperation.

As far as our two countries are concerned, this year was marked by the May 1987 visit to Romania by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. During their talks, Comrades Mikhail Gorbachev and Nicolae Ceausescu

highly valued the upward course of comprehensive cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples, and expressed the decision to further strengthen this cooperation.

The agreements in principle reached by the two leaders give a strong impetus to our joint activity. In the efforts to implement these agreements, both partners are taking concrete steps to develop and expand mutually advantageous economic ties between the two countries and to introduce new and modern forms of cooperation, in order to accelerate scientific-technological progress, increase labor productivity and, on this basis, also raise the working people's living standard.

The great dynamism of our relations is illustrated by the growing share of the USSR in Romania's overall foreign trade activity, namely from 17% in 1980 to 30% in 1986. In the current 5-year-plan period, we plan to increase bilateral commodity exchanges at least 1.7 times. There is no other country in the world today with which the Soviet Union registers such high growth rates in its foreign trade.

Our cooperation in construction of important economic units—cooperation that has been going on for more than 40 years—continues to be most significant. More than 140 projects in the fields of energy, metallurgy, chemistry, the pulp and paper industry, and other branches are currently being implemented in Romania with Soviet participation. These units are very important for the Romanian production of pipes, rolled steels, electric power, metallurgical coke, synthetic rubber, soda ash, caustic soda power, cardboard, and many other goods. The intergovernmental agreement signed in August 1986 provides for the joint building and modernizing of a further 24 Romanian industrial units in the current 5-year plan.

Soviet deliveries contribute to satisfying Romania's requirements for many raw materials, such as natural gas, electrical power, oil, coal, cast iron, ferroalloys, asbestos, apatite, and cotton, and for a whole series of machines, equipment, and domestic appliances.

As far as Soviet imports from Romania are concerned, an important place is taken today by drilling installations and other oil equipment, ships, wagons, and technological equipment for many industrial branches. There is a constant demand in the USSR for Romanian garments, knitwear, shoes, furniture, and other consumer goods.

Romania participated in construction of units in the USSR, such as the pulp factory at Ust-Ilismk, the asbestos combine at Kembay, the nuclear power station in the southern Ukraine, and the condensed gas facility at Orenburg, and in development of various units for extraction of iron ore and production of ferroalloys. Romanian experts and workers are currently participating in construction of a complex for natural gas extraction in Turkmenia and are building a number of units at the Krivoy Rog combine to process oxidized iron ores [minereu de fier oxidat] in the Ukraine. Production from these enterprises is also being delivered to Romania, on the basis of a long-term agreement.

Scientific-technical cooperation between specialized bodies in the two countries currently covers a range of more than 200 problems and subjects, concerning both basic research and the applicative directions connected with the development of important economic branches. Scientists from various institutes of the academies of the USSR and the SR of Romania have created a new family of lasers in the field of construction and have jointly elaborated rational construction projects and procedures, which can lead to significant savings in manpower and materials.

We attach particular importance to cooperation in implementing the five priority directions of the comprehensive program for the scientific-technical progress of CEMA member countries up to the year 2000 (introduction of electronics in the economy, automation of production, development of nuclear energy, biotechnology, and creation of new materials). By the end of the current 5-year period, we plan to produce computers with a high degree of durability as well as certain production management systems on the basis of these computers. We also plan to introduce flexible robot complexes and automated design procedures in enterprises. Consequently, we will be able to save manpower, energy, fuel, and valuable materials and to increase efficiency of production management and product quality.

The growing economic and scientific-technical potential of the Soviet Union and Romania and expansion of the participation of our countries in the international socialist division of labor and in development of socialist economic cooperation and integration create favorable premises for further developing and improving mutually advantageous economic relations between the USSR and the SR of Romania.

The prospects of Soviet-Romanian ties in the economy, science, and technology depend to a large extent on overall development of production sharing and specialization, and on close cooperation in production between our economic bodies and enterprises. In this respect, there are still many opportunities that have not been fully used. Direct contact was recently established between the Novokramatorsk machine-building plant and the Iasi heavy equipment combine, which plan to cooperate in production of technological equipment for the metallurgical branch. Cooperation links are also envisaged for Soviet and Romanian enterprises in machine-building, fine mechanics, the automobile industry, and other fields.

In our opinion, the process of developing new forms of cooperation is also facilitated by restructuring of the foreign trade activity in the USSR. Basically, this restructuring aims to considerably extend the powers

and responsibility of the producers themselves, while maintaining and developing the principles of state monopoly in foreign trade activity. To this end, many ministries, departments, and large numbers of combines and enterprises acquired the right, as of the beginning of 1987, to directly tap the foreign market. Economic and legal conditions were created to stimulate each Soviet enterprise in developing its international cooperation.

Qualitative changes in the cooperation mechanism represent a prerequisite of our times. The pooling of material and intellectual resources can accelerate the production process and improve the living standards of nations.

Shalayev-Led Delegation Home From Bucharest
PM091659 Moscow TRUD in Russian 31 Oct 87 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation Returns"]

[Text] A delegation of Soviet trade unionists led by S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, has returned to Moscow from Bucharest after an official friendly visit to Romania. I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR, was among the reception party.

Soviet Warships Visit Yugoslav Port
PM061145 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Oct 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meetings In Split"]

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Oct—A detachment of Soviet warships consisting of the large ASW ship *"Komsomolets Ukrainy"* and the destroyer *"Nakhodchivyy"* under the command of Vice Admiral A.A. Kuzmin, first deputy commander of the Black Sea Fleet, has completed an official friendly visit to the Yugoslav port of Split.

The voyage commander met with Vice Admiral B. Grubisic, commander of Split Military Naval District, and representatives of the city authorities. The Soviet seamen visited students at the naval college. The city inhabitants who visited the ship viewed the exhibition dedicated to the 70th anniversary of Great October and were familiarized with the life and living conditions of Soviet seamen.

Bulgarian Consul Assumes Office in Odessa
AU091424 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 31 Oct 87 p 3

[RATAU report: "Assuming an Office"]

[Text] Odessa, 30 October—Iliya Georgiev, newly appointed consul general of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Odessa, assumed his office today.

Book Published by Bulgaria's Zhivkov
PM061251 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report "An Anthology of Articles by T. Zhivkov"]

[Text] A book by T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, entitled *"Selected Articles and Speeches. March 1981-July 1987"* [*"Izbrannye Stati I Rechi. Mart 1981-Iyul 1987*], has been published. The materials published in the book throw light on key questions of the economic and social policy of the BCP and the Bulgarian Government at the current stage, the party's ideological work, Bulgarian foreign policy, and efforts to strengthen the friendship and all-around cooperation with the USSR. The most recent materials are devoted to problems of implementing the BCP's strategic course toward achieving qualitatively new growth in all spheres of Bulgarian society's life.

The anthology is published by the Political Literature Publishing House.

Latin America

Nicaragua's Commander Tirado Interviewed
PM091449 Moscow TRUD in Russian 1 Nov 87 p 3

[Interview with Commander Victor Tirado, member of the National Leadership of Nicaragua's Sandinist National Liberation Front, conducted in Managua by TRUD special correspondents Y. Dmitriyev and Y. Mayorov: "'Our March Continues!'"; date of interview not specified]

[Text] Managua-Moscow—Every revolution has its own accounting of time, its own scale of measurement. History shows that a country which yesterday was, as they say, a long way from great accomplishments may today be at the center of attention, in the thick of important events whose significance goes far beyond the bounds of the entire region.

Eight years have passed since the Sandinist People's Army's victory march through the streets of Managua. With each subsequent day of the young republic's formation, Nicaragua has been delighting everyone who values freedom and peace.

"We threw down a challenge to U.S. imperialism. We did not fear its might, its provocations, or even the undeclared war it unleashed against us after the revolution. We foresaw this. We embarked on an open struggle with our powerful octopus-like neighbor. We had no other way out. We stood our ground," Victor Tirado told us.

The conversation took place in the protocol building in modest surroundings: a magazine table, wicker chairs, and cups of coffee. Out of the window were blinding sun

and the green of the palms. It is difficult to believe that somewhere not very far from the capital, CIA mercenaries' submachine gunfire can still be heard and that huts are still burning and people still dying.

Victor Tirado is no longer young. He has solid revolutionary service behind him. He has been in the Sandinist movement since the first days of the creation of the National Liberation Front. In that memorable July of 1979 when the people's revolution finally crushed the Somoza regime, Victor Tirado, with submachine gun in hand, burst into Managua at the head of an assault detachment, smashing the last seats of Somozist resistance.

Now the revolution has set him different tasks: agriculture, the trade union movement, and social organizations....

"Our revolution must be understood and experienced. People must remember where we began and be aware of the price of our victories. What did Somoza leave us? An unbelievably backward country with a population of 3 million, more than 60% of whom are totally illiterate. Terrifying child mortality: Out of every 1,000 newborn babies, 200 died in the first year of life. Nearly 300,000 large Nicaraguan families did not even have a hut. Yet the U.S. moneybags and owners of numerous companies and corporations who were unscrupulously robbing our people had colossal incomes.

In the first months of the republic born amid the fire of battle, the peasants received land and began to create agricultural cooperatives. They began to build schools, hospitals, and cultural centers. But the undeclared war being waged at U.S. bidding by the brutal "contras" has impeded peaceful building. More than 60% of our budget goes on defense needs. This is a colossal sum which could be used to develop the economy for the good of the people. It is not for me to tell you Soviet people the price of freedom and independence! More than 40,000 Sandinists and peaceful inhabitants have already perished in our country in the struggle with the counterrevolution. The damage inflicted by military operations exceeds $4 billion. This in a small country like Nicaragua! But we have not given up. The revolution moves on. Our march continues!

[Dmitriyev/Mayorov] All revolutions need peace. We know of the Nicaraguan Republic's tremendous efforts in this direction. What are the prospects for national reconciliation?

[Tirado] The Guatemalan agreements by the five Central American states provide an opportunity to sharply reduce tension in our region and put out the flames of the undeclared war and internecine killing. Ours must be a peaceful and good-neighborly continent rather than a "blazing" continent. This cannot fail to influence the situation in Nicaragua also. Yes, we are striving for peace. We need it, not because we are weak but because we are becoming stronger— because the revolution is bringing people peace.

We were the first to announce a policy of national reconciliation and to create special commissions, made up of peasants, members of the intelligentsia, religious figures, and opposition representatives. Hundreds of people have already been freed under an amnesty. A government decision on a cease-fire over a considerable proportion of the territory recently came into force. We have opened points on the border with Honduras and Costa Rica for relatives to meet up. We have simplified the drawing up of documents for returning home. We have agreed to dialogue with the opposition parties. Much else has also been done. In particular, we have permitted the publication of the opposition newspaper *La Prensa* and broadcasts by the clerical radio station Radio Catolica. But, naturally, there will never under any conditions be direct or indirect dialogue with the leaders of the counterrevolution. In short, peace will come to Nicaragua if we are not impeded by external aggressive forces.

[Dmitriyev/Mayorov] What is the role of the working class, the peasantry, and progressive currents in establishing the republic?

[Tirado] We achieved the conscious participation of the people in defense of the revolution. Every labor collective knows that one-half of output goes to defense. Therefore, it tries to work better. Now the efforts of the trade unions and the aware workers and peasants are channeled toward stabilizing the economic situation and toward economic survival. But this is not easy. Agrarian reform, for example, is being implemented. The peasants have received several million hectares of land. More than 3,000 cooperatives have been created. But how are they developing? It is difficult to say right now. Some of the cooperatives are in combat zones.

But even under such conditions we have managed to increase production of some types of foodstuffs.

[Dmitriyev/Mayorov] The Sandinist Revolution gained the sympathy of all the progressive world. How do you rate international support for the republic?

[Tirado] Our revolution is not an experiment by a small group of people. It is an important page in the world revolutionary process, its clash with imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all. Our revolution cannot be isolated. It enjoys the ardent support of the peoples of the USSR, other socialist countries, Latin America, Europe, and Asia, and many people in the United States. All this helps us to hold our ground. Our revolution needs further material and moral aid. We are counting on international support.

[Dmitriyev/Mayorov] Soon all mankind will be celebrating the 70th anniversary of October. What do you wish Soviet people?

[Tirado] We send Soviet people a revolutionary greeting. Your achievements are the achievements of all mankind. We are following with tremendous attention the restructuring in Soviet society. There are many thousands of kilometers between our countries. But we do not sense this. We support the tremendous efforts of the Soviet people in the struggle for peace. We know that this word is very dear to Soviet people and to Nicaraguans, also. We will struggle for peace together!

Panamanian People's Party Leader Interviewed

PA091832 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0200 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Interview with Ruben Dario Souza, secretary general of the Panamanian People's Party, by (Mikhail Sihov); date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [(Sihov)] Comrade Souza, I have learned from the mass media that Panama has been affected by a political crisis that began in June. What are its real causes? What is the context of that crisis?

[Souza] This crisis revolves around the current government, which has been attacked by the oligarchic opposition. Behind that opposition is imperialism, which has actually promoted this crisis. The context of this crisis is the Panamanian decolonization process, which aims to undertake what in Panama we describe as our third independence, consisting of recovery and nationalization of the canal and expulsion of U.S. troops from the bases they still occupy. This is what decolonization would essentially mean.

Nevertheless, this process clashes with the U.S. interest in using Panama as an essential link in military preparations it is already carrying out in Latin America in response to the general crisis the U.S. is facing in regard to the situation gradually unfolding in this part of the world, the growing process of liberation in other countries, and the disagreement that a group of countries—including those of the Contadora and Support Groups—have expressed with the U.S. warmongering policy in Latin America. This disagreement on the part of several Latin American states and existence of a revolutionary Cuba and an invincible Sandinist Revolution led the United States to consider that its national security is threatened in an area that had always been considered a safe rearguard in their policy of world hegemony. The United States has to make military preparations throughout Latin America, and within Latin America, the military bases in Panama are essential.

This imperialist need conflicts with the Panamanian decolonization process; U.S. interests clash with Panamanian interests. The United States believes it can resolve this by forming a right-wing government that will completely surrender to imperialist objectives and that will be able to repress the Panamanian people. The United States thus needs to control the Panamanian Defense Forces, which, to date, have been in the hands of Torrijist officers. The main leader of those Torrijist officers is General Noriega, who has been the target of fierce U.S. attacks because he has opposed U.S. demands. In view of this situation, imperialism has unleashed this crisis, the main objective of which is to remove General Noriega from power and with him the entire government.

Reportage on Gorbachev Activities

Meets With Castro

FL061602 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1502 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro met today with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU. He conveyed greetings to the Soviet people on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, GOSR. Fidel told Gorbachev that the GOSR is an important event, which is not only important for the Soviet people but also for all true revolutionary progressive humankind. He also underscored the influence of the solemn activities held in Moscow during these days. Fidel told the Soviet leader that these celebrations have a large impact on the minds and hearts of men around the world.

Fidel and Gorbachev concentrated on the status and perspectives of the development of Soviet-Cuban relations. They referred to the level of cooperation which has made possible the achievement of important tasks.

Castro and Gorbachev noted that thanks to Soviet-Cuban economic cooperation, the material-technical base of socialism has been reached in our country. They said that economic cooperation between our countries provides for new possibilities of making it considerably more effective and it is an example of a new type of relation between developed and underdeveloped countries. During their talks, the two statesmen paid special attention to the countries' increased contribution to the solution of current global problems, especially those related to the end of the arms race.

The commander in chief and the Soviet leader stressed the direct link between disarmament and development and the worsening of the crisis created by neocolonialism.

Talks With Gus Hall

LD091730 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 9 TASS—This afternoon Mikhail Gorbachev met at the CPSU Central Committee with General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USA Gus Hall.

The interlocutors exchanged opinions on the past festivities on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October and the meeting of delegations of parties and organizations held these days in Moscow. According to the common appraisal, the nature of these events which deserve to be seriously analyzed reflects important changes in the world situation, in the public opinion and progressive political movements.

Gus Hall noted a considerable increase of the interest in the United States for the Soviet Union in connection with restructuring and foreign policy shifts that have taken place of late. He said that Americans whose adherence to democracy is rooted in the very history of their country have been particularly impressed with glasnost. All this widens the range of confidence, leads to the weakening of anti-Sovietism, gives one the ground to hope for the improvement of relations between the two countries.

The interlocutors highly assessed the arrangement on the coming Soviet-American summit.

At Gus Hall's request Mikhail Gorbachev described some specific features of the present stage of perestroyka.

The conversation was held in the spirit of comradeliness, friendship, openness characteristic of relations between the two parties. Mikhail Gorbachev thanked Gus Hall for long-standing and invariable solidarity with the Land of Soviets and stressed that it is essentially precisely the American Communists who made a first step toward mutual understanding between the two great peoples.

Meets Nguyen Van Linh

BK091549 Hanoi VNA in English 1513 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Text] Hanoi VNA Nov 9—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee, held talks at the Kremlin Palace on Nov. 9 with Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee.

The two sides expressed their desire to continue developing the friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the CPV and between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The two sides pointed to the principled significance of the implementation of agreements reached during the earlier visit to the Soviet Union by the secretary general of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and discussed measures to promote it in order to increase the efficiency of the all-round cooperative relations between the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

While exchanging views on issues of the international [word indistinct], the two sides stressed that the Moscow meeting of representatives of parties and movements to the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution marked a new and important stage in the common struggle for peace and social progress.

Nguyen Van Linh expressed his profound gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR for their invitation to a Vietnamese party and Government delegation to attend the celebrations.

Nguyen Van Linh and Mikhail Gorbachev reasserted the determination of Vietnam and the Soviet Union to put into effect the idea of transforming Asia and the Pacific into a zone of peace, stability, good neighborhood and

cooperation. The two sides expressed their complete support for the national reconciliation policy of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea which is being carried out in the interests of the Kampuchean people and the consolidation of peace and security in the region.

Taking part with the CPSU general secretary in the talks was Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The talks took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete mutual understanding.

Talks With Marchais

PM061443 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading: "Conversations in the Kremlin"]

[Text] On 4 November M.S. Gorbachev had a brief, friendly meeting in the Kremlin with French Communist Party [PCF] Secretary General G. Marchais.

G. Marchais expressed profound satisfaction at the PCF delegation's participation in the 70th October anniversary celebrations. He hoped for great successes in the further implementation of the course of restructuring and creation of a lasting system of international peace and security. M.S. Gorbachev sent best wishes to the French Communists in their struggle for democracy, working people's rights, and peace. Emphasis was placed on the significance of the further development and strengthening of fraternal relations between the two parties.

Ryzhkov Meets With Al-Bid, Pham Hung

PM091225 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS reports under the general heading "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Excerpts] Talks were held in the Kremlin 6 November between N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Pham Hung, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, who is in Moscow as part of the SRV party and government delegation to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. [passage omitted]

The same day N.I. Ryzhkov met with 'Ali Salim al-Bid, general secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party [YSP] Central Committee, who is heading the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] delegation at the festivities to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The warm and friendly talks examined the state of and prospects for relations between the Soviet Union and Democratic Yemen, the situation in the Near East, and other international problems. The sides reaffirmed their mutual desire to further develop and deepen Soviet-South Yemeni cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres.

'Ali Salim al-Bid stressed the great international importance of the jubilee ceremonies in Moscow devoted to the 70th anniversary of October, wished the Soviet people new successes in implementing restructuring, and expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet Union for its comprehensive assistance to the South Yemeni people in strengthening their revolutionary gains and in resolving the socioeconomic tasks facing the PDRY.

Taking part in the talks were, on the Soviet side: B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.F. Katushev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; and Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; and on the South Yemeni side: Muhammad Sa'id 'Abdallah Muhsin, member of the YSP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the YSP Central Committee; Salih Abu Bakr bin Husaynun, PDRY deputy prime minister and minister of energy and minerals; Muhammad Ahmad Jirghum, PDRY minister of culture and information; and Ahmad 'Abdallah 'Abd al-Ilah, PDRY ambassador to the USSR.

Further Report

BK070925 Hanoi VNA in English 0718 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Hanoi VNA Nov.7 — Nikolay Ryzhkov, Political Bureau member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, held talks in the Kremlin yesterday with Pham Hung, Political Bureau member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers who was in Moscow for the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Also present were Nikolay Talyzin, first vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and president of the State Planning Committee, and Nguyen Manh Cam, member of the CPV Central Committee and Vietnamese ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Speaking on this occasion, Pham Hung highly valued the report made by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev at the grand meeting marking the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution and his speech at the meeting of representatives of parties, movements, and organizations. Pham Hung stressed that those were documents of great political, ideological, and practical importance not only for the Soviet people but also for peoples in the socialist countries and to the whole progressive mankind. The two sides compared notes

regarding the Soviet-Vietnamese relations, especially the continuation of perfection of the economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries.

N. Ryzhkov affirmed the Soviet Union's consistent support to the Vietnamese people's efforts aimed at implementing the resolution of the 6th CPV Congress, renovating the social life, and accelerating the economic development of the country.

The two sides also discussed international issues of common concern.

Ryzhkov Receives PDRE's Mengistu Haile Mariam
PM101153 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS Headline: "Meeting in the Kremlin"]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Nov (TASS)—A meeting took place in the Kremlin 9 November between Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Ethiopian Workers Party Central Committee and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE), who is in the Soviet Union in connection with the festivities for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (GOSR).

Mengistu Haile Mariam noted that the Ethiopian delegation had gleaned much that was useful from participating in the jubilee ceremonies in Moscow, which had been a convincing demonstration of the enduring significance of the ideas of Great October for the progress of mankind. He gave a high assessment of the meeting of the representatives of parties and movements, which was convened on the initiative of the CPSU in order to discuss the urgent problems of today and mutual familiarization with the experience of the actions of progressive forces in the interests of the working people, the removal of the threat of war, and the normalization of international relations.

In the course of the conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and comradely mutual understanding, Nikolay Ryzhkov and Mengistu Haile Mariam exchanged information on the more important events in the life of the USSR and the PDRE and discussed issues of bilateral relations. Giving a positive appraisal of the state of and outlook for the development of cooperation between the USSR and Ethiopia in a variety of spheres, they came out in favor of increasing its efficiency and the further strengthening of economic, cultural, and other links. From the Soviet side came confirmation of unfailing solidarity with the people of friendly Ethiopia, who have embarked on the path of constructing a new life.

Participating in the talks were K.F. Katushev, chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; A.Yu. Urnov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister; on the Ethiopian side—Yusuf Ahmed, vice president of the PDRE State Council; Shagre Yigletu [name as published], secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee; Aklilyu Afevorg [name as published], chairman of the PDRE Foreign Economic Relations Committee; and Asrat Wolde, PDRE ambassador to the USSR.

Yeltsin Urges Greater Restructuring Effort
PM061225 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Nov 87 Second Edition

[TASS report: "Loyalty to October's Traditions"]

[Text] Every anniversary of Great October is a major and bright holiday. Its 70th jubilee anniversary stands out among the many such glorious events: It has coincided with truly revolutionary transformations in our society's life. The restructuring now under way in our country is having a tremendous effect on the minds and hearts of Soviet people and all of mankind.

Muscovites have also made their contribution to the changes for the better. Their representatives gathered, with a sense of pride in the achievements of the last 7 decades and of lofty responsibility for our further development, in the USSR Bolshoy Theater 5 November. It was the venue of a joint festive session of Moscow CPSU Gorkom and Moscow City Soviet to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

There was applause to welcome Comrades V.I. Vorotnikov, Ye.K. Ligachev, N.N. Slyunkov, E.A. Shevardnadze, P.N. Demichev, B.N. Yeltsin, N.V. Talyzin, A.P. Biryukova, and G.P. Razumovskiy.

Party, October Revolution, and civil war veterans, production front-rankers and innovators, figures in science and culture, and representatives of the public were present.

The session was opened by B.N. Yeltsin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Great October's 70th anniversary is marching across the planet, he said. For 7 decades now, the banner of the great Lenin, who raised the immortal teaching of Marx and Engels to the level of revolutionary practice, has been flying over the world. The socialist revolution in Russia is correctly considered a crucial event in world history. Our revolution was the starting point of the irreversible process of capitalism's replacement by the new, communist formation.

Our revolution was the start of a truly mass struggle by the peoples for peace and for social and national liberation. The lessons, importance, and still unsolved tasks of the revolutionary process were explained on a large scale at the meeting of the representatives of parties and movements who have come to Moscow from all continents to celebrate the 70th Great October anniversary.

The creation of the mighty USSR is linked with the establishment of multifaceted mutual ties "from Moscow to the most far-flung districts."

The durability of the friendship, mutual assistance, and unity of the peoples in the Land of the Soviets withstood the most rigorous of trials in the harsh days of the Fall and Winter of 1941, when the fate of Moscow represented for everyone the fate of the motherland. The words of political instructor Vasiliy Klochkov have become immortal: "Russia is vast, but there is nowhere to retreat to—Moscow is at our backs!"

The battle for Moscow marked the beginning of the future victory. The mass heroism, courage, and staunchness of Soviet servicemen, the people's resistance, and all defenders of the capital were highly appraised by the motherland and the party. Moscow was awarded the title of hero-city.

In the course of their city's rich history Muscovites did not avoid either the burden of the period of illegal repressions or the excesses of voluntarism, or the consequences of stagnation. But faith in justice remained ineradicable in the hearts and deeds of the capital's party organization and the city's working people.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted at the festive session of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviets that the fate of restructuring is being determined today by two problems of society's development. These are, first, the democratization of all social life. And second, radical economic reform.

The concept of restructuring has been elaborated. Soviet people are becoming increasingly interested in the changes planned by the party. The party Central Committee has defined today's stage of restructuring as a crucial moment.

Are we ready to persistently implement restructuring?

Is our revolutionary spirit high?

Are we doing everything to live and work according to Lenin's behests?

It is from this standpoint that all of us must exactingly assess our place in the nationwide system, the speaker stressed.

Most Muscovites actively support the party's course of renewal. Restructuring has become close to most Muscovites in the period since April 1985, the 27th CPSU Congress, and the 26th city party conference. Hopeful changes have emerged. Professional and enterprising people are gradually replacing those who have become accustomed to stagnation. We are learning democracy, undergoing a schooling in glasnost, openly criticizing shortcomings and our own failings, and striving to eradicate them. The moral atmosphere in the city is becoming purer and more honest.

The first real results in the economy have been obtained. Labor productivity growth rates in the city's industry are double the indicators for the last 5-year plan. Industry has started to switch to economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and new management methods.

Moscow has worthily carried out its pre-October watch.

The city has been embellished by new construction projects: the Lenin Hills Memorial Complex, the Lenin Square complex with the reborn Paveletskiy Station, and the "Okean" store at Strogino. A new stretch of subway has been built with the "Konkovo" and "Teplyy Stan" stations, a homeopathic hospital has been built on the Shosse Entuziastov, and new vegetable storage facilities have been constructed and commissioned in the Moscow suburbs to supply Muscovites during the winter. By the holiday Muscovites had obtained 2,000 apartments over and above the plan. The Moscow City Soviet channeled into the resolution of social programs the R27 million earned by Muscovites on the 12 September subbotnik devoted to the 70th anniversary of October and City Day.

The first results of restructuring are visible. But a great deal still has to be done. We must give scope to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing. It is a matter of honor for Muscovites to ensure 100 percent fulfillment of their contract commitments. We must accelerate the development of the social sphere at enterprises, of trade, public catering, and consumer services, and of health care and education. By 1995 we must solve the problem of communal apartments. All this demands a great mobilization of forces and the concentration of Moscow's tremendous potential in the priority areas of social and economic development.

The nature of our society—as was convincingly stressed at the ceremonial session in the Kremlin—is linked with a principled orientation toward peace. We are proud that it is Moscow that is providing the mighty and effective impetus for a peace-loving policy.

Invisible but tangible threads link our revolutionary past with the revolutionary present. Led by the party, working Moscow is greeting the bright October holiday with pride in what it has accomplished, with a grateful memory of the heroes of the revolution, and with a good working mood.

Muscovites' achievements and the restructuring currently taking place in the capital were the subject of speeches by Hero of Socialist Labor P.D. Borodin, chairman of the Moscow City Council of War and Labor Veterans; Hero of Socialist Labor P.A. Abrosov, fitter at the Automatic Line Plant named for the 50th anniversary of the USSR; Hero of Socialist Labor L.G. Zykina, people's artiste of the USSR; and N.V. Volodina, student at Moscow's First Medical Institute.

The best way of celebrating the glorious jubilee, they said, is to focus attention on unresolved tasks and persistently implement what has been planned. Muscovites must renew all aspects of life more actively and step up the struggle to successfully fulfill the 5-Year Plan projects.

The representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations in Moscow and Moscow Oblast visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum 5 November and laid wreaths.

Wreaths were also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

Lukyanov Outlines 'Democratization' Process

PM051315 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "More Democracy—More Socialism. Press Conference at the Press Center for the Great October's 70th Anniversary"]

[Text] A press conference on the subject "The Expansion of Socialist Democracy Is the CPSU's Strategic Line" was held at the Press Center for the Great October's 70th anniversary in Moscow 31 October.

Addressing Soviet and foreign correspondents, A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted that the concept of restructuring elaborated by our party perceives the expansion and deepening of democracy in parallel with economic reform as one of the main components of the process of accelerating society's development.

The democratic forms which we are developing in present-day conditions, he emphasized, are the fruit of the whole 70 years of development of our state and social institutions. This is a democracy which emerged from the victory of October, was explained in V.I. Lenin's works, has been tested by the passage of time and in the fire of war, and is confirmed by the masses' experience.

Of course, our path was far from easy, insofar as it was the path of trailblazers. There were highs and lows, there were discoveries and errors. The development of socialist democracy was greatly damaged by the repressions and gross violations of socialist legality in the period of Stalin's personality cult, by the retreat from the Leninist norms of party and state life, and by the various voluntarist zigzags.

But any objective observer, provided he stands on the positions of truth, must admit that our history on the whole is a history of economic and social progress. Its result is a new sociopolitical system and a mighty multinational state of the working people striving to constantly renew its society and drive it forward.

Moreover, at the present stage we are talking about a qualitatively new level of democracy's development, perceiving it not only as an instrument for involving people in their millions in the process of accelerating socioeconomic development but also as a guarantee that there can be no reversal in these restructuring processes.

The essence of our democracy's contemporary development lies in the deepening of the people's self-management. It is ensured primarily by the enhancement of the role played by the representative organs of power—the soviets of people's deputies at all levels. It is well-known that the soviets today consist of 52,000 organs of state power at central and local level. They unite more than 2 million deputies from over 100 nationalities, representing all classes and social groups in our society. One of the most important avenues for their development is the active use of the powers vested in them in solving all political and socioeconomic problems. Every soviet must in fact become a center for the solution of key questions concerning the development of the corresponding territory and the daily life of every person and family, playing in this work the role of a representative and, at the same time, fully accountable organ. In other words, the contribution made by the soviets to the development of what we call the human factor must steadily increase.

An efficient means for enhancing the soviets' role is provided by the democratization of their legislative, executive, and monitoring work, the stepping up of management organs' responsibility and accountability, and the improvement of procedures governing the holding of sessions, the work of permanent commissions, and the activity of deputies. This will be furthered by the introduction of changes in our electoral system and the intensification of deputies' work among the population.

The reliance on representative democracy and the singling out of soviets as the main link in socialist self-management ought not to be perceived as an underestimation of direct democracy. These two forms are inseparable and constitute a single whole.

Here one ought to mention primarily the practice, now established in our country, whereby the broad public discusses draft laws and other key decisions of statewide, republic, and local importance. Direct democracy is spreading on an increasingly broad scale in the life of labor collectives and at citizens' meetings in their places of residence. An important channel for direct democracy is provided by citizens' letters and applications, about 16 million of which are received each year by soviets and their organs alone.

An exceptionally great role in the implementation of direct and representative democracy in our country is played by the working people's public organizations and the diverse organs of social self-organized activity.

The process of democratization reveals with renewed strength the importance attaching to the correct solution of the problem of improving the state management apparatus.

A paramount position is occupied here by the economic management apparatus at its grassroots level—at enterprises, associations, and organizations. This is why the restructuring of the economic mechanism began by enhancing the role of labor collectives, with elections for and competitive replacement of leaders. The party has set the task of expanding step by step the range of problems on whose solution labor collectives have the final word and of enhancing the role of workers' and employees' general meetings. All this is enshrined in the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which will come into force as of January next year.

Restructuring affects not only the organs of management of economic, social, and cultural building. It applies fully to all other state institutions and, in particular, to the all the organs involved in ensuring socialist legality and law and order in the country. Moreover, the questions of strengthening socialist legality are today given priority insofar as genuine democracy cannot exist outside or above the law.

Much work is now in progress on the drafting of new laws on the development of the economy, the social sphere, and culture, the people's self-management, and the expansion and strengthening of guarantees for citizens' rights and freedoms. To put it briefly, the legal base of restructuring is being created and its legal backing is being strengthened.

At the same time, it is clear that no matter how sound a new law may be, it can survive only if it is rigorously observed and applied. In this context, exceptional importance in contemporary conditions attaches to the improvement of the work of organs like the courts, the prosecutors' offices, the legal profession, and the arbitration service.

If legality provides a lasting base for the affirmation of democracy in, so to speak, the sphere of state life, we perceive glasnost as the equivalent factor in the sphere of social climate. The democratization of society and advance along the path of socioeconomic transformations are gathering pace largely thanks to the development of glasnost and openness. Their development helps to take into account the most diverse views and opinions and to strengthen the democratic monitoring of the correctness of decisions being made from the viewpoint of the masses and subsequently of the implementation of these decisions.

Glasnost as a whole is not just another campaign or a glossing process, as is at times claimed in the West. Glasnost is a norm of the Soviet way of life, without which radical transformations and democracy would be impossible. This is why the course of expanding glasnost and openness is a matter of principle for us.

From the very beginning, socialism was distinguished by the fact that it constitutionally consolidated and constantly expanded citizen's socioeconomic rights such as the rights to work, to education, to social security, and to health care services. This is a fundamental gain of our revolution. But despite all the importance of these socioeconomic rights, they do not, of course, exhaust the individual's constitutional status. This is why the Soviet state gives equal attention to the citizen's political and individual freedoms. And we would like to do everything possible to ensure that every person becomes increasingly aware of his role in all affairs of society and the state.

The 7 decades that have passed since Great October have proved time and again that our advance can be assertive and steady only when it is fully headed by the Communist Party and when the party itself is a genuinely democratic social organism. This is particularly noticeable now that the party is acting as the initiator of all the changes in our society's life, including the sphere of the state-legal superstructure. Being the nucleus of the Soviet political system, it has become the main driving force and guarantor of restructuring, of the development of socialist democracy and self-management.

These, in general outline, are the basic processes of the development of socialist democracy.

Are we satisfied with these processes? No, so far we are not in a position to say that we are satisfied with everything.

Restructuring has entered a crucial stage, a stage when policy is transformed into actual deeds and affects people in their tens of millions. This process is gathering pace, but its progress is far from easy, and it is penetrating society's grassroots cells with difficulty. There are still instances of lack of initiative, of apathy, and of a desire for excessive centralization, and attempts are still being made, just as in the past, to solve questions by administrative rather than by economic methods. Bureaucracy and conservatism, economic mismanagement and irresponsibility have still not laid down their arms. The proper social and legal protection of man is far from always ensured.

It must be said that certain other tendencies can be observed in the process of restructuring. Some people are inclined to perceive democratization as total license, as an opportunity to pursue their own selfish interests and to settle accounts. It must be noted that certain Western circles have actively joined this process, wishing to take advantage of our openness and glasnost for their own

subversive purposes. In this context I would like to recall yet again what M.S. Gorbachev said at his meeting with representatives of the French public: Those who nurture hopes that democracy and restructuring will lead to a social and political coup in the Soviet Union are mistaken. Such expectations are in vain. We will never allow anyone to march against socialism. Everything will be done to ensure that socialism is consolidated. And this is not a question of what kind of leadership runs our country: All of 90 percent of our people were born and have grown up under socialism. They will not compromise its gains.

At the same time, it must of course be borne in mind that democratization is a movement, it is the overcoming of contradictions, it is a struggle between the new and the old, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed in conclusion. And this requires the overcoming of conservatism within ourselves, the elimination of stereotypes in thinking, of the old habit of expecting ready-made answers to all questions. No! Since we are marching along an untrodden path, we certainly do not always have ready prescriptions for all the circumstances engendered by life. At the same time, we are firmly convinced in the correctness of the line we have chosen, and we will follow it without deviation.

Also taking part in the press conference were USSR Minister of Internal Affairs A.V. Vlasov; RSFSR Minister of Justice A.YA. Sukharev; Doctor of Juridical Sciences G.Kh. Shakhnazarov; and N.V. Shishlin, chief of the Great October 70th anniversary press center. They replied to journalists' questions.

Shcherbitskiy Addresses Kiev GOSR Meeting

LD091134 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 5 Nov 87

[Text] Participants of revolutionary events in the Ukraine, veterans of the party, industrial and office workers, students, scientists and artists took part today in a ceremonial meeting dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution held in Kiev. A report at the ceremony was delivered by Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee.

He pointed out that the world's first proletarian revolution became an event of universal and historical significance and greatly influenced the destinies of all nations.

As noted in the report of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the ceremony in Moscow devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the ideas of the revolution, the behests of Vladimir Lenin are today being introduced in the broad new plans of the party, in the principal deeds of the Soviet people. The profound restructuring being carried out in our country, based on the program adopted at the 27th party congress, is the direct continuation of the October Revolution. Each step of this process shows the importance of checking one's actions with the experience of the revolution, and of constantly turning to the immortal Leninist teaching.

The rapporteur presented a historical analysis of our society's development. In particular, he noted that at the October 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and at the solemn meeting in Moscow, an objective and just assessment was made of the cult of personality, and also of the manifestations of voluntarism and subjectivism in the sixties and of the stagnation processing in the late seventies and early eighties.

The Communist Party, Vladimir Shcherbitskiy continued, has propounded the fully substantiated general course for revolutionary changes. The aim of this policy line is to fully reveal socialism's advantages, its gigantic potential and possibilities. Communists, all the people, have adopted this policy and are actively supporting it. In the main, the first initial stage of the restructuring process is being completed, the stage of elaborating the party's new course, adoption of large-scale measures for strengthening and accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. A new stage is underway at present, the aim of which is to implement what has been left out.

The restructuring process, which has stirred all our society, Vladimir Shcherbitskiy continued, has already led to positive changes. Involving newer and newer spheres, it has improved the moral and political situation. This strengthens people's belief in its success. The most important tool of restructuring, on which to a great extent its destiny depends, is the broad democratization of society. It is in further democratization that the party sees a great tradition of the October Revolution, which reflects the essence of socialism.

Restructuring and its acceleration, the speaker stressed, is unthinkable without [words indistinct] of socialist society. The role of local soviets is gaining in importance. They have been given broad rights. This has turned them into genuine masters of the territories they officiate. Many local soviets have become more active; however, some are still too slow in shedding formalism from their work.

It should also be noted that the restructuring process, which grows deeper and deeper, has involved public organizations and creative unions. The party attaches great significance to the envigoration of mass information media in carrying out restructuring. The duty of the press, television, and radio is to tell the people the truth, while concealing nothing. All essence of restructuring and its genuine humanism, the speaker noted further, lies in making life for Soviet people materially better and spiritually richer. Everything will primarily depend on how restructuring is proceeding in the decisive sphere of the economy. The intensive factors and possibilities of the new economic mechanism are being used more fully in the republic's economy.

Integrating science and production has deepened, and the scale of introducing scientific-technical achievements has become broader. During the last 2 years this has brought about a national income growth exceeding the average for the previous 5-year plan period by 1.3 times, and profit by 1.5 times.

The party's program line for fuller satisfaction of material and spiritual requirements of the people finds its concrete application in the priority given to developing the social sphere, the speaker said. According to preliminary results, the fiscal income of the republic's population has increased during the last 2 years by R2.2 billion. The pay of teachers, people in the medical profession, and grants for students have risen. [passage omitted] As can be seen, qualitatively new work in all directions is evident in the republic. However, if we view the restructuring process as a whole, then it is easy to note that it is proceeding unevenly. In development of a number of economic branches of oblasts, towns and rayons, the necessary dynamism is still lacking, especially where improvement of qualitative indices is concerned.

Strengthening socialist management has released people's creative energy. The level of civil and patriotic consciousness of the people is improving. Inspiration is being revealed by critical assessment of what has been achieved, by a search for a new approach and ways to solve complicated tasks in everything from the economy to the arts.

In celebrating this grand holiday, Vladimir Shcherbitskiy said, the working people of the Ukraine, like all Soviet people, are directing their will and energy toward implementing the great plans of the party, the sacred ideals of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Vladimir Shcherbitskiy then dwelt on certain questions of international life. The principal line of our foreign policy, he said, stems at all times from the general direction mapped out by Lenin. [passage indistinct]

Ukranian CP Members Attend

LD090958 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0330 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Excerpt] A solemn meeting in honor of the 70th anniversary of Great October was held in Kiev yesterday. In the presidium were Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party; and members and candidate members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party: Gerasimov, Yelchenko, Kachalovskiy, Kachura, Masol, Mironov, Mozgovoy, Sologub, Titarenko, Shevchenko, Gurenko, Ivashko, Kolomiyets, Kryuchkov, and Pogrebnyak; Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; and Voss, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The meeting was chaired by Shevchenko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

A report, "Along the Path of October, Along the Path of Revolutionary Transformations," was delivered by Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. [passage omitted]

Shcherbitskiy at Ceremony

LD061425 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0615 GMT 5 Nov 87

[Summary] Yesterday, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Great October, the party and government leaders of the Ukrainian SSR laid a wreath at the monument to V.I. Lenin in Kiev. Around the monument gathered Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and members and candidate members of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo: Gerasimov, Yelchenko, Kachalovskiy, Kachura, Masol, Mironov, Sologub, Titarenko, Shevchenko, Gurenko, Kolomiyets, Kryuchkov, and Pogrebnyak.

Afterward all of them walked to Glory Square and laid a wreath on the grave of the Unknown Soldier.

TASS Rounds Up 2 Days of Meetings

LD031641 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Excerpts] Moscow October 3 TASS—A gala meeting marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution ended to the sound of the Internationale in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses Tuesday after two days of speeches.

It was attended by some 6,000 people, including members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's Central Committee, deputies to the Supreme Soviets (parliaments) of the USSR and the Russian Federation (the country's largest constituent republic), and numerous foreign guests.

All in all, 163 delegations from 119 countries arrived in Moscow for the revolution day festivities. [passage omitted]

A total of 30 foreign guests as well as ten speakers from different Soviet republics addressed the Kremlin meeting over the two days.

After it was declared closed, Gorbachev, smiling, told those present: Till we meet at the October Revolution's centennial."

Ceausescu Continues Visit to Celebrations

Visits Moscow Exhibitions

AU061942 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, AGERPRES, 6/11/1987—On Friday, November 6, in the morning, President Nicolae Ceausescu saw round an exhibition of the machine-building industry of the USSR, which opened in Moscow as part of the events to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The same day, the RCP and Romanian state leader visited the All-Union Fine Arts Exhibition devoted to the same event.

Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, Romanian prime minister, and Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, participated in the visit.

Nicolae Ceausescu was accompanied by G.G. Vedernikov, deputy vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, I.I. Skiba, head of section of the CC of the CPSU, other Soviet officials.

Presenting the exhibition, the hosts informed of the efforts made to update and diversify production and boost the quality and competitivity of machinery and equipment.

A special sector in the exhibition shows the results of USSR's collaboration with other socialist countries in machine building, the fruits of Romanian-Soviet cooperation included [sentence as received].

During the visit Nicolae Ceausescu conversed with members of the Soviet Government, when problems related to the development of collaboration between the two countries were approached. A fine basis was shown to exist for the growth of collaboration and cooperation, more intense actions being needed to capitalize the broad possibilities of cooperation and specialization in the field of machine building, to translate into fact the understandings on an economic line reached between the party leaders of the two countries.

At the end of the visit, Nicolae Ceausescu signed the book of honour of the exhibition.

Then the fine art exhibition was seen round. President Nicolae Ceausescu was welcomed by V.G. Zakharov, minister of culture of the USSR, N.A. Ponomarev, chairman of the Fine Artists' Union, numerous men of letters.

On display are numerous works, which are recent creations devoted to memorable events in the history of the country and the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet people's life, their aspirations after peace and progress.

Numerous fine artists, whose works went on display, expressed their gratitude and satisfaction for Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to that exhibition.

During the talks with Soviet men of letters, Nicolae Ceausescu underscored the important role of art in the development of society, in socialist construction, in the promotion of friendship and peace among peoples.

Bidding those present a warm farewell, the RCP and Romanian state leader signed the book of honour of the exhibition.

Receives Algerian Official

AU062045 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2008 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, AGERPRES, 06/11/1987—On Friday, November 6, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, received in Moscow Mohamed Cherif Messaadia, member of the Political Bureau, coordinating secretary of the Standing Secretariat of the CC of the National Liberation Front in Algeria.

More on Meeting

AU071420 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0802 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, AGERPRES, 7/11/1987—On Friday, November 6, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, received Mohamed Cherif Messaadia, member of the Political Bureau, coordinating secretary of the Standing Secretariat of the CC of the National Liberation Front of Algeria.

On the occasion, Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed a friendly salute and the most cordial wishes on behalf of the secretary-general of the National Liberation Front, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, Chadli Bendjedid.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and, in his turn, conveyed the Algerian party and state leader a warm salute and the best wishes. During the interview, emphasis was placed on the links of friendship and collaboration between the RCP and the National Liberation Front, on their contribution to the continuous development of cooperation between the two countries and peoples. The wish was expressed to work for the expansion and diversification of Romanian-Algerian relations, for the intensification of bilateral cooperation on the economic, technical and scientific planes and in other areas of mutual interest.

During the talk, current issues of the international life were approached, mostly problems related to the Middle East situation. In that context, Nicolae Ceausescu restated the position of the RCP and Romanian State concerning the achievement of a just and durable peace in the Middle East, on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, the insurance of the Palestinian people's right to an autonomous, independent state, the negotiated settlement of all those issues at a UN-sponsored international conference, attended by all concerned parties, the PLO and Israel included.

Emphasis was also placed on the need to solve all states of conflict by political negotiated means, in the interests of peoples, of their economic and social progress, of international peace, understanding and collaboration.

Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, attended the interview.

Attends Parade

AU071415 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1248 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, AGERPRES, 7/11/1987—Saturday, November 7, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, attended the military parade and the demonstration of working people in the Soviet capital, which crowned the events and festivities that marked the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, other Soviet party and state leaders, guests from abroad were present on the central dais of V.I. Lenin's Mausoleum.

More on Parade Appearance

AU071801 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1743 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, AGERPRES, 6/11/1987—Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of Romania, who is in Moscow, at head of a party and state delegation, at the invitation of the CC of the CPSU, of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and of the USSR Council of Ministers, to take part in the festivities marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, attended the military parade and working people's demonstration in the Red Square, on November 7.

At the rostrum of the Mausoleum in the Red Square were M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, members and alternate members of the Political Bureau, secretaries of the CC of the CPSU, other Soviet party and state leaders.

Nicolae Ceausescu also took his seat in the rostrum of the Mausoleum, alongside the Soviet party and state leaders and the foreign chief delegates. Attending the parade and the demonstration were also Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister, Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

In the attendance were veterans of the revolution, numerous foreign guests, from Romania included, heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Moscow, military attaches and foreign press correspondents.

Units of various arms of the Moscow garrison lined up the big square for the traditional parade.

Army General D. Yazov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, USSR defence minister, made an address from the rostrum of the Mausoleum.

The military parade followed.

Next, tens of thousands of participants in the working people's parade went past the rostrum.

Attends Reception

AU071927 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, AGERPRES, 7/11/1987—On Saturday, November 7, in the afternoon, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania and the members of the Romanian party and state delegation attended a reception given by the CC of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Attending were Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, Andrei Gromyko, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, other Soviet party and state leaders.

Also present were the foreign delegations in Moscow for the festivities marking the anniversary.

During the reception, Nicolae Ceausescu cordially conversed with Mikhail Gorbachev, with other members of the Soviet party and state leadership, with chief delegates from various countries.

Correction to Ceausescu Speech

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Ceasusescu Speech at 4 Nov Meeting," published in the 6 November 1987 Soviet Union *Daily Report*, page 26:

Paragraph three, last sentence reads:...riches as part of a new division of labour, based on equality, in which the peoples should be master of their own riches. An end must be put to their exploitation by a group of countries. This problem really requires a new, concerted solution, a new approach and thinking. Starting from the requirements of peaceful coexistence, we must determine all states to give up the old thinking concerning the relations of inequality. Only thus shall we open new prospects for the future century, the third millennium. The socialist countries are in the front lines. Through their activity, starting with the Soviet Union, they prove that it is possible to take action along this path.

The communist and worker movement, all developing countries, the socialists, the social democrats, the national liberation movements, the democratic parties, the realistic religious forces included, must concert their efforts and act in a single front in order to open up new prospects for the world's development.

We must not forget the examples of history, we must not forget that everything we obtain in one field or another is still in danger, that only by bringing about a radical change in the contemporary world shall we have a safe future.

Undoubtedly, dear comrades, what has been said is true: imperialism does not change by itself. But it must be determined to renounce the old policy...(supplying dropped passage)

BCP's Zhivkov, Atanasov Continue Visit

Zhivkov Visits Exhibition

AU062033 Sofia BTA in English 1839 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, November 6 (BTA)—The Bulgarian delegation for the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, headed by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, visited the permanent exhibition of the achievements of the USSR's national economy. The delegation was accompanied by Mr Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the CPSU.

At the exhibition the delegation was met by Soviet ministers. The Bulgarian delegation examined with interest the products showing the latest achievements and trends of techno-scientific progress: new transport devices, metal working machines with laser and plasms technologies, electronic systems, robots, and many other exponents. The Bulgarian enterprises are the most active partners of the Soviet mechanical engineering industry in the international cooperation and especially in the new forms of cooperation. Among the joint developments most outstanding are the developments of the international association "Ivanovo-Sofia", the robots and the flexible modules of "Krasniyi Proletariy-Beroe" different agricultural machines, computer technology.

There is also Bulgarian participation in the pavilions on the achievements of Soviet automotive industry.

Zhivkov Visits Industry Center

AU062055 Sofia BTA in English 2009 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, November 6 (BTA)—The Bulgarian delegation headed by Mr Todor Zhivkov, visited the centre of Bulgarian Industry in the USSR. The delegation examined the exhibition "Bulgarian Mechanical Engineering' 87".

Only last year the Bulgarian Trade Company "MASHINOEKSPORT" has exported production for 170 million rubles to the USSR. Mr Todor Zhivkov was interested in the reception of those products at the Soviet market and in the improvement of the cooperation. A talk was held on the role of the industrial centre which works for three years now but its presence in the bilateral cooperation is of great importance. Last year 2200 specialists, from all parts of the Soviet Union were trained here.

Mr Todor Zhivkov assessed highly the work of the centre.

Atanasov Visits Belorussia

AU061820 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Nov 87 pp 1,5

[Nacho Khalachev, BTA correspondent, report from Minsk on visit by Georgi Atanasov to Belorussia and his activities on 4 November]

[Excerpts] Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, who is a member of the Bulgarian delegation for the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, arrived on a visit in the Belorussian SSR today. [passage omitted]

In the early afternoon hours Georgi Atanasov met Efrem Sokolov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia. The host briefed Georgi Atanasov on the development of the republic in various economic branches and on the progress of restructuring. He pointed out that the national income of Belorussia increased by 11.2 percent in recent years and that it continues to increase at high speed. Regardless of the fact that one-third of the national resources were destroyed as a result of World War II and one-fourth of the population was killed in the war, Belorussia today has been reborn and is engaging in foreign trade with 100 countries of the world on an equal basis.

The guest conveyed warm greetings on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation, and on the personal behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council. He briefed

his hosts on the work accomplished in Bulgaria in implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress for the acceleration of socioeconomic development.

During the talk it was unanimously stressed that the report read by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the festive Kremlin meeting was a remarkable event in history and an exceptionally important document which will have an impact in the future, not only for the progress of the USSR, but for the development of international relations.

Opportunities for expanding bilateral cooperation in some areas were discussed.

Later on, Comrade Georgi Atanasov laid a wreath and flowers at the obelisk monument on Victory Square in the city of Minsk and at the Lenin monument, paying his respects to the great sacrifices and contribution of the Belorussian people to the victory in the Great Patriotic War waged by the USSR. [passage omitted].

Najibullah Activities in Moscow

5 Nov Speech

LD080949 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0439 GMT 8 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, November 7, BAKHTAR—The meeting of political leaders of the 20th century enriches us from the moral point of view and we will manifest more resoluteness and wisdom in our humanitarian activities which come from our hearts, said Dr Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA CC and president of the Revolutionary Council while delivering a speech in the meeting of representatives of parties and movements attending the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR] on November 5 in Moscow.

This open, free, democratic and internationalist meeting is the high demonstration of goodwill and revolutionary solidarity of our will and deeds for future human destiny and environment, for peace, socialism, development and progress.

This can be defined as a high approach and serious restructuring in relations between parties, political organizations and movements.

Restructuring is not only a one way avenue. We are bound to perceive our mutual responsibility based on self-restructuring.

Based on the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution and socialism that no revolution can implement its constructive power under conditions of fratricide and bloodshed, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan too in its turn has reconstructed itself and led the country towards national reconciliation. We consider national reconciliation as a Leninist peaceful policy. As creative application of Leninist thought on compromise. Methodology of analyzing social classes and balance of forces in a society. [preceding two sentences as received]

The mechanism of national reconciliation, reconciliation which is responsive to the gains and interest of our people i.e. cessation of bloodshed. [sentence as received] Solution of the issues around Afghanistan and removal of social and economic back-wardness, is taking shape in our country.

National reconciliation has become an objective fact which, all political forces whether they want or not, should consider. Work has not been carried out as we expected and planned. I should explicitly state that we had pinned much hope on ceasefire. But ceasefire remained unilateral. We observed ceasefire for 52 days that is till the enemies stepped up their hostilities and intensified their attacks on residential areas and transport routes. We were compelled to respond to them on the demand of the Commissions for National Reconciliation. As a creater of thought the party analyzes the changing conditions and draw practical lessons from it. The party strives to settle the new tasks. We have accelerated the work of national reconciliation among the working masses and established open negotiations with the opposition through peace jirgahs [assemblies]. Seeking ways for solution together with concessions, we had talks with second and third rank [word indistinct] of the opposite side and created peace regions and provinces.

The organising power which would be created in the framework of national front would be multi-party unity and the unity of the left democratic parties. The multi-party system would prepare the ground for forms of coalition administration. These forms have come into being right now on the initiative of working masses and grow from bottom to top, from villages to district and finally at provincial level.

To discredit the policy of national reconciliation, the opposition is seeking to fabricate false propaganda and concoctions and disseminate them among the people. They claim that the PDPA endeavours to monopolize political power. I emphatically say that the PDPA is attempting to divide power and further include in the composition of leading body representatives of all patriotic forces who support the ideals of the policy of national reconciliation. Currently 15 percent of employees of local organs of state power and administration are former opponents. Six senators and ministers of the past government are functioning in the posts of ministers. Recently, representatives of the left democratic organizations, the organization of the working people of Afghanistan who cooperate with the PDPA, have got the post of the president of State Planning Committee and two other important ministries.

In the complex approach to reconciliation, a special role is assigned to the socio-economic figures and interrelation of all economic foundations. Special attention is paid to private entrepreneurs, artisan, production and strengthening of the market system.

It is clear that we will put an end to the press monopoly in the conditions of coalition, Najibullah said, but we should preserve the monopoly of oral political publicity. Experience teaches that publicity is the shortest way for mobilisation of the people.

The peaceful normalization of the situation in Afghanistan is only possible through the joint effort of local political forces and in the international arena, the Afghan party and state leader pointed out.

On behalf of the people of Afghanistan I would like to express my gratitude to the party and state leadership of the Soviet Union, to Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other friendly countries for the Soviet Union and other friendly countries for their all-sided assistance and support they have rendered to us. [repeated elements in sentence as received] Forty eight messages of greetings from fraternal parties were received addressed to the conference. Thank you dear comrades for your deep attention.

We invite you, Najibullah said, to visit our country and see for yourself what things have been accomplished there in the post revolution years, get to know the current of implementation of national reconciliation, and sum it up logically. These evaluations will be certainly to the benefit of new Afghanistan. National reconciliation has now crossed the borders of our country and has changed to a political reality in the international arena. We propose that at the beginning of 1988, the heads of the countries that have undertaken the path of national reconciliation should meet in Kabul. The party and its new policy has friends, however, its enemies are not less. I think it is necessary to fruitfully organize criticism of the enemies of peace, upholders of confrontations and devastating wars.

News Conference 6 Nov

LD061228 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1140 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, 6 Nov (TASS)—The people of Afghanistan support the policy of national reconciliation and consider it to be their own, Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, said today, addressing journalists here at the 70th Great October anniversary press center.

At present, normalization of the situation in the country depends to a significant extent on what tendencies prevail in the opposition camp. Sadly, the general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee said, the situation in that camp is typified by disjointedness, vacillations and splits between the various groupings. The ringleaders of the opposition, guided by militarist spirit, are in confrontation with those who want to embark on peaceful labor in conditions of peace. As a rule, these are ordinary people who were drawn into the way by deceit or force.

It is a well-known truth that it is more difficult to struggle for peace than it is to wage war. But that difficulty does not scare us. We are devoting all our strength so that with the help of the policy of national reconciliation we will ensure peace for our people. During the 230 days of conducting this political course, 2,300 Afghan villages have been liberated by peaceful means, 100,000 refugees have returned to the homeland, and 30,000 military formations of the opposition have laid down their arms.

Najibullah reported to journalists that the PDPA and the DRA bodies of power are ready to make concessions in order that opposition parties can have their representation and can publish newspapers and journals, of course, on condition that these press organs come out in support of the national reconciliation policy. It is clear to everyone that any kind of compromise, as is the policy of national reconciliation, presupposes movement from both sides. Unfortunately, he stressed, one has to ascertain that at time, opposition leaders are lacking in boldness and skill to conduct political dialogue.

What is most important is that the PDPA has stated with all boldness and with a sense of goodwill that it does not lay claim to a monopoly of power and is prepared to share it with other forces. To date, the PDPA has already signed protocols on cooperation with two left-wing democratic organizations. We adhere to the principles of political democracy and pluralism, Najibullah said in this connection.

At the same time, it is important to stress that so far, for as long as a threat exists to the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Afghanistan, for as long as the conditions for withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops are not created, the PDPA will chair the country's Revolutionary Council and will exercise sole political leadership of the DRA Armed Forces.

Gorbachev's 'Candor' Lauded

LD061002 Moscow TASS in English 0948 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—The general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Najibullah, said today he had been greatly impressed by the candor and boldness shown in the analysis of Soviet history in the report delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev to a grand meeting marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Najibullah, who is also president of the Revolutionary Council of Democratic Afghanistan, was speaking at a news conference at the 70th revolution anniversary press center here.

He said Gorbachev's report was a fundamental document setting an example of audacity and truth for all revolutionaries in the world and demonstrating to them the outstanding role played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The report had shown, Najibullah said, that the achievements of the CPSU belonged not only to it alone, but to all mankind as well.

He said that after the Afghan delegation returned home, they would immediately call a meeting of party activists to tell them what they had seen and heard in Moscow. Among other things, they would tell them, he added, about a Kremlin meeting of representatives of different parties and movements, the spirit of trust and friendship reigning there, and the enriching exchanges of experience at that informal forum.

Further Report

LD070010 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1630 GMT 6 Nov 87

[News conference by Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the DRA Revolutionary Council, to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (GOSR); at the GOSR press center in Moscow on 6 November—recorded; correspondents' questions are read by an unidentified speaker in Dari]

[Text] [Najibullah] Comrades, friends, and dear journalists: Greetings to you. [passage indistinct]

So far, all political initiatives were taken by the PDPA and the DRA Government. Fourteen fundamental concessions were announced. Recently, in the second nationwide conference of the PDPA, the issue of opening the political representation offices of various opposition parties, including their independent newspapers and magazines (?has announced), provided they do not [words indistinct] to the task of reconciliation and restoration of peace and security in the country. However, you all know that reconciliation is not a one-way road or street. We hope that rationality and logic will succeed light-headeness, and that finally, the leaders of the opposition side [words indistinct] the high culture of talks and dialogue.

The second issue was that the PDPA openly and with courage announced that by goodwill and determination, the PDPA does not want a monopoly of power and genuinely wishes to share it. The PDPA is ready and already has taken practical steps in this direction. (words indistinct]

As far as the role of the PDPA is concerned, it undertakes a vanguard, major, and mobilizing force. We should explicitly state that the PDPA will reserve for itself two characteristics: So far, there is a threat to the country's national sovereignty and territoril integrity, and while the aggression and interference from outside continues—causing bloodshed and prolonged war in the country—and until conditions become suitable for return of the limited units of the Soviet Union, the PDPA will reserve the position of the president of the Revolutionary Council and its single political leadership of the armed forces.

As far as the issue of coalition in practice is concerned, a cooperation protocol was concluded with two left democratic organizations. The door is open to the other parties, including Islamic parties, the nuclei of which are in the formation process, for restoration of peace. Whoever wants peace to be secured in our country can come to this door. [passage indistinct]

The conference raised the issue of the unity of the PDPA and solved the issue of rooting out every kind of factionalism and grouping It also issued a resolution on securing unity and cohesion to which every member of the PDPA has and will put their signature. [passage indistinct]

The conference showed that the PDPA is the only force which can, for a long time, under conditions of turmoil, lead the country toward improving the situation. The conference courageously exposed the PDPA's mistakes and with moral courage (?accepted responsibility).

The conference explicitly declared that our revolution is not a socialist revolution, and our party is not a communist party. [passage indistinct]

From the international point of view, the conference placed on us a duty to devote all efforts to creating conditions to enable the limited units of the Soviet Union to return to their peaceloving country. From the national point of view, we have a duty to restore nationwide peace, security calmness in the country, safeguard territorial integrity, national sovereignty and seriously pursue the principles of nonalignment.

The conference made those people who were at the stage of wavering and doubting—alleging that the policy of national reconciliation is an incidental and unspecified policy of the PDPA—believe that this policy is a scientifically regulated and formulated program which implement the enforceable and [word indistinct] of its policy in accordance with this program.

Finally the conference gave a vote of confidence to the PDPA leadership delegation who can take action, action and again action with earnest, courageous and decisive determination.

I am now with you, you can ask your questions.

[Correspondent] A correspondent from Japan. What is the aim of the meeting by those leaders who have chosen the national reconciliation policy, which will be held in Kabul next year? Second question: Which countries' leaders will take part in this gathering?

[Najibullah] As I was delivering the speech, I accepted this responsibility of being the host. But [words indistinct], this conference can be held in another country. It can be the Southeast Asian countries, Central America, Africa and Asia.

[*Al-Watan* correspondent] A correspondent from *Al-Watan*, Kuwait. First question, I have visited Afghanistan three times. During that time I heard and read about the 30 camps for training the opposition—they were called dushmans [bandits] then—in Iran. Why is there no mention of them now? Has the stand of Afghanistan toward Iran changed, or has Iran's stand toward Afghanistan changed? Second question, if there was an imperialistic antirevolution against the Russian Revolution, that revolution would be able to defend itself. If, now, the Soviet military contingents leave Afghanistan will you be able to defend yourself?

[Najibullah] It should be said with regret that Iran still has a hostile stand toward us. The DRA, based on the principles of good-neighborly relations and cooperation between states, has hopes of reaching a stage of friendly relations between Afghanistan and Iran. It is obvious to the whole world that if today, now, the financial and arms assistance to the counterrevolutionaries and extremists were to be stopped, they would not be able to continue war and bloodshed in the country.

[Egyptian correspondent] A journalist from Egypt: Since January of this year, you have carried out much work within the framework of new, realistic thoughts. Attention has been drawn to this subject in the Arabic countries. How do you assess the stand of Arabic countries vis-a-vis Afghanistan? Second question: How do you assess the stand of the Arabic countries in connection with your stand on Islam? Some of these countries see your policy as a tactical, not a strategic one.

[Najibullah] I can say in one sentence that our relations are developing positively in the Islamic Conference Organizagion generally, and in connection with the Arabic countries [momentary break in transmission]. The PDPA is the vanguard of its millions of masses. It represents their high interests. [passage indistinct]

We can say bravely that in comparison with the previous regimes and with some others in Islamic countries, the situation of Islam is better in our country. We, the revolutionaries, are in the ocean of the masses like fish in the sea. If you separate them from the people or from water, the fish will not live. Therefore, our people are Muslims. Our approach to this issue is a realistic one. It is a practical rather than a tactical approach.

[AFP correspondent] A question from AFP: I have two questions. First: There are reports about conspiracies and arrests in the party ranks among supporters of Mr Babrak Karmal. You have talked about party unity. Can you provide some information about any expulsions or arrests? Second: The Soviet sources have officially confirmed that a French journalist was arrested in Kabul. Can you explain why? What are the charges against him and what will happen to him?

[Najibullah] Concerning arrests and imprisonments, there is no such thing in reality. Those who have been announced over the television and radio still have not been expelled from the party. We only meted out party punishment to those who were sabotaging implementation of the national reconciliation policy or who were working badly. Based on the general demand of the party masses, the conference confirmed that under present conditions, testing the standard of party cadres is part of implementing the national reconciliation policy. Based on these criteria and tests, we need supporters of the high interests of the people and supporters of the cause of revolution, not the personal supporters, patrons, and relatives of (?servants). It is true that a French journalist was arrested in the northern regions of country, in Fariab. He was arrested among the armed opposition groups. He has entered the country illegally nine times up to now. The investigation into his case is continuing under DRA law.

[Finnish correspondent] I am a journalist from Finland. Mr Najibullah, a Soviet weekly [words indistinct] wrote some weeks ago that some of the Soviet assistance to Afghanistan has been misused. How serious is this problem, and what measures have been taken to prevent it? The weekly also says that this assistance is worth millions of rubles; can you shed light on this?

[Najibullah] We have five examples of misuse in five provinces. These cases were seriously investigated at Politburo level, and several people face party punishment, even prosecution. Although these were isolated incidents, we have taken them very seriously, in the spirit of restructuring. The Soviet grants-in-aid for 1987 were given to us a little late, in August, because of the protocol signing. They have not been distributed yet. During the years of the revolution, only twice have we given free assistance to people. The first time was in 1980, when we gave out R40 million. During the next 6 years there was no such assistance. Then, during the first 6 months of this year, we gave out R27 million in free assistance. It should be clear to our friends that Soviet assistance is given to us in various forms and is distributed in various ways, and is not limited to free assistance.

[Lebanese journalist] A journalist from Lebanon. First question: As you are aware, in the 20th Century a number of Muslims are worried about the future of their

culture—that is, Islamic culture. Do you think such a fear of the future is felt by Afghanistan's people? Second question: Why is the mission of *Al-Azhar* in Afghanistan ended?

[Najibullah] God, may He be glorified, says in the Holy Koran: We, verily have sent the Koran for your thoughts, and we will save it. Therefore, we are confident as Muslims that Islam is not in danger in our country.

Concerning your second question, I hope you read our newspapers and journals. Every day there is a new development. Recently we opened the Institute of Islamic Scientific research in Kabul. The traditions of *Al-Azhar* have not been damaged but have improved. The faculty of religious studies, the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and Endowment, the Council of Ulema and Religious Leaders, and a long list of such Islamic establishments exist here.

[FRG correspondent] A journalist from West Germany: You recently received Armand Hammer, the U.S. social and economic figure. He said in Pakistan that you have established contact with the former king and that you are ready, under special conditions, to hand over power to General 'Abdul Wali Khan, the son-in-law of the former king. Do you confirm this? Second question: As has been announced, the Grand Assembly will elect the new president very soon. Are you the only candidate, or do you have any rival?

[Najibullah] I personally do not have contact with Zaher Shah, but if you regard Hammer as a means of contact, such a contact exists. Concerning Hammer, allow me to say one thing, which is that one should not think that there are no wise, reasonable, and responsible minds in the United States. He does not have only a great oil industry, but also a great political mind. He likes the art of painting. Therefore, he carries out his measures with a fine art. His services in connection with his relations with Soviet Union are also worth commendation. At the present time, he has embarked on good relations with us. We come to only one result: Human beings and humanity can come close to each other naturally. It is only in the interest of a number of people who are narrow-minded, in both thought and deed, to destroy these close, humane boundaries. About the other question, concerning my candidacy for the post of president in the Grand Assembly, we decided at the second nationwide PDPA conference, from principled point of view, that the PDPA can present one of the responsible comrades as a candidate. The PDPA candidate will not be the only candidate. There is the possibility for other groups, such as the National Front and the social organizations, to present a candidate. We announce from this tribune that the opposition groups also may present candidates to this assembly.

[U.S. correspondent] A U.S. correspondent: Yesterday TASS reported that you said that the Soviet troops have returned from Afghanistan and that troops are not stationed in 12 out of 30 provinces. Is it true a number of Soviet forces have left Afghanistan or have they just been transferred to other provinces? What is your reaction to the statement made by the opposition groups in the United Nations yesterday, which said that almost 80 percent of the country is in the hands of the opposition?

[Najibullah] The first question is very simple. When we say that they have been withdrawn from 12 provinces out of 30, it means that the limited Soviet contingents are still stationed in Afghanistan. Concerning their return to their country, all the world knows that up to now, six regiments have returned to the Soviet Union.

We say to our U.S. friend that you can see the contrary of the seven leaders in their relevant claims: On the one hand, they say that 80 percent of Afghanistan is in their hands, and on the other, they say that the Soviet Union has occupied the whole of Afghanistan. If the Soviet Union has occupied the whole of Afghanistan, then how can 80 percent of Afghanistan be in their hands? I leave the judgment to you.

[*Times* correspondent] A question by a correspondent of the London *Times*: In your kindness, you invited 47 of us to visit your country in January. Then, at that time, you said that we could come back to Afghanistan in July to see the development of the national reconciliation policy. I want to know when this visit will take place?

[Najibullah] There is a short period left before the Grand Assembly; we invite you to come then.

[*Novosti* reporter] Question by *Novosti* of Moscow. Now that you are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, what are your predictions about the 80th Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary?

[Najibullah] In my opinion, Great October began with a real humanitarian nature on the basis of [words indistinct] Leninist decree concerning peace. On the 70th anniversary, as a result of the coming visit by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev to the United States and the signing of a protocol to eliminate medium-range and tactical-operational missiles, we have hopes that by the 80th anniversary, the majority of this path will have been travelled. We should not also forget perestroyka, because great and bold steps have been taken along that path. [passage indistinct] Not only us, but all mankind should be proud of these festivites and this mission of the Soviet people and the CPSU, of the views and thoughts of the Politburo, and of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev. There is a lot that we can say in this connection.

[NHK correspondent] Correspondent of NHK television, Japan. I want to ask about those so-called refugees from your country. (?This was) one of the important issues which was [words indistinct] with countries in the

UN. (?Have you so far) accepted the request of these refugees concerning the creation of political parties after their peaceful return to Afghanistan?

[Najibullah] We are not setting conditions and have not set conditions for the return of refugees to Afghanistan. It is our duty to express our hospitality to them. Many decrees have been passed with regard to preparing vast facilities and making concessions and insuring of their future livelihoods, in education, public health, housing and so on. All the decrees have been put into practice.

Concerning their political activities, they can carry out their political activities in our country according to the law on political parties and political organisations, provided they do not resort to armed activities against the state.

[*Daily Telegraph* correspondent] A correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*. Please tell us: As the price of peace, will you consider the representatives of the opposition [words indistinct] to return to Kabul and take up high positions such as in the Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Interior, or just to take posts in (?this or that) ministry? Second question: You said that you are a representative of an Islamic country. Can we call you a communist?

[Najibullah] In connection to your question, the issue is under discussion and we can say that, generally, our approach is positive. As you said: as the price of peace.

In connection with your second question, I replied before that the PDPA nationwide conference had said that our party is not a communist party nor is our revolution a socialist revolution.

Thank you, comrades. I think your questions are (?finished) and no one has any more questions. Thank you. I hope that you will be brave enough to present these issues to your people in the same way as we did in this friendly and open climate. Thank you.

Sends GOSR Greetings

LD080638 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0415 GMT 8 Nov 87

[Text] Kabul, November 7, BAKHTAR—Dr. Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and President of the Revolutionary Council and Sultan Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the DRA, have sent a message to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU CC, Andrey Gromyko, president of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers congratulating them on behalf of the party and government of Afghanistan on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of Great October Socialist Revolution.

The world history, the message indicates, does not remember any event as important as October Revolution which has radically changed the destiny of mankind and has determined the basic course and directions of the growth of the human civilisation.

The history of Afghan-Soviet relationships, the message points out, is a clear evidence of the traditional friendship and good neighbourly relations between the peoples of the both countries and their loyalty to the principle of equal rights and mutual understanding.

The people of Afghanistan are sincerely grateful to the Soviet Union for its internationalist assistance. This assistance is especially significant at the present sensitive stage when the policy of national reconciliation is being implemented and efforts are being made for the political solution of the situation around Afghanistan.

Confidence has been expressed in the message for the elevation of Afghan-Soviet friendship in the interest of the peoples of the both countries and for the consolidation of peace and security in the region and all over the world. The revolutionary Afghanistan welcomes the tireless efforts of the Soviet Union for the establishment of a world free of nuclear weapons, democracy, national independence and social progress.

The message wishes further successes for the Soviet leaders in giving effect for its reconstruction program.

Addresses Afghan Students

LD091845 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1616 GMT 8 Nov 87

[Speech by Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the DRA Revolutionary Council, on 7 November in Moscow at a gathering of Afghan students—read by announcer]

[Text] Comrades, dear friends,

The opportunity presents itself to us to meet you and to deliver greetings from the homeland to you. I am pleased to meet you. It is a pleasure for us to see you in high spirits and good health. I began my conversation from the point that I and all members of our delegation—Comrades Keshtmand and Watanjar—have been greatly influenced during our stay in the Soviet Union. It is [word indistinct] that I visit this great country. Each time the high spirit of the Soviet people makes me happy and astonishes me. We have visited Volgograd, an unforgettable place for every human being. We laid a wreath at the Tomb of [passage indistinct]

We took part in the official ceremony to honor the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution during (?several) nights. I must say that we have gained a special memory from this ceremony. The speech by M.S. Gorbachev, and speeches by other participants at the session made obvious to us the great gains of the

Soviet people, which have been achieved during 70 years under the leadership of the Communist Party and the vast possibility of an advanced social structure. Renovation and restructuring, being advanced with revolutionary depth and scale, come together with the successes of socialism and create new successes. The glorious meetings in Moscow highlighted once again the international importance of Great October and its effect on the destiny of the people of our planet and their struggle for national independence and social progress. The Soviet Union has been transformed into a safe bastion of peace. Its campaign program to create a world free from atomic weapons and people's security have been warmly welcomed by all people with goodwill. The leaders of state and parties spoke on this matter at the official ceremony.

I cannot just mention the approach of the Soviet people toward us, the representatives of Afghanistan. We have been greeted with real respect, warmth and sincerity wherever we go. We have seen kind smiles and welcoming looks. Friendly handshakes, open hearts, sympathy, and readiness to share difficulties — how can we forget these? Only a brother and a real friend can offer such an approach. The Soviet people have rendered outstanding assistance to us. They rushed to help us in a difficult moment in order to save our independence. We will never forget those who have sacrificed their sweet lives for the sake of our freedom. Their names will remain enternal in our memory.

The Soviet Union renders great assistance to us. It helps us in construction of factories, housing complex, schools, and hospitals. We cannot name all of them. The Soviet Union, while rendering assistance, does not try to gain any political and economic benefit. We are proud of our friendship with the Soviet Union and its people. This friendship is a national pride and is a sacred cause for us. We are duty bound to consolidate this friendship and to make it enternal. These are in short, my own feelings and those of my comrades in our delegation. I think these feelings are also similar to your feelings.

I am sure your are waiting for me to comment on life today in our country and about the PDPA. The PDPA conference was the most important event in the life of Afghanistan's society. The conference enjoys historical importance and it was held in stages. We spent 90 days preparing for the conference. The conferences were held, in an organized form, in districts, sub-district, localities, cities, provinces, and in the armed forces. The conference approved resolutions and statements in connection with the speeches, which is particularly important for our progress. The conference was held in a climate of unity and cohesion. It showed the political experience of the representative. It fully supports the policy of the PDPA Central Committee and the DRA. Our country, all of us, are going through transformations today. It is the period of movement from war to peace.

Despite our efforts the flames of war have not been extinguished. The lives of human beings, our brothers, have been destroyed by this fire. The youth, which is the future of Afghanistan, has been killed. Women and children suffer. The sacred places have been insulted. Houses and schools have been destroyed. Our long suffering land, the tears of widows and mothers, and the memory of martyrs make us beseech Almighty God to grant us peace.

Party and state power, after an objective assessment of situation in the country, have established that the main objective is to free people from death and to give priority to people's interests, as declared in the policy of national reconciliation. None of the party's slogans has had such popularity among the people and enjoyed such great support.

More than 10 months has passed since implementation of the national reconciliation policy. These months are equal to years based on intensification of the struggle for peace, based on an increase in activities and work, and based on results. We have the very first results: some 2,310 villages have peacefully joined the side of people's power. All 45 cities, including provincial centers, 214 districts, and sub-districts, are under the control of people's power. Some time ago the provinces of Farah and Nimruz were declared peace regions. Some 90,000 persons have returned to their homeland from Pakistan and Iranian camps. Some 30,000 members of armed oppositions group have joined the side of people's power, and together with them 100,000 persons have returned to a peaceful life. People believe in the victory of peace and tranquility.

We mentioned at the conference that implementation of the new policy, in comparison to our previous conception, will be complicated. During the past 10 months, we have been able to carry out a lot of work in all directions. Political interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and an increase in aggression against the people have slowed the reconciliation process. The internal enemies of reconciliation create inconvenience too. Bad work, lack of action, and the fear of some comrades losing their positions has also been an inconvenience for us.

At present, 1,200 representatives of the opposition have been elected to the local councils of people's power. Some 361 previous members of armed oppositions groups work in the executive committees at various levels. Six thousand former oppositionists cooperate within national reconciliation commissions.

The inhabitants of many villages have held peace councils and have made decisions based on compromise, peace, and tranquility. We welcome and will continue to welcome such decisions. We receive letters and requests asking us to explain the type of approach state power will have toward those villages and districts which [words indistinct]. Please come, provided they fight for and do not act against state power.

The doors of our country are open to all who want peace. We are not usurpers. We do not retain power only for the sake of power; we are ready to share it with those who desire tranquility in our land. Those who fight for the sake of peace are our cofighters and our alliance. Let them be the representatives of another party or nonparty. This is not the essence of the matter. The essence of the matter is to stabilize the situation and ensure peace in the country.

Now about our reciprocal relations with the opposition, the seventh alliance, and other organizations; the leadership of Afghanistan (?effectively) strives toward dialogue with them. During the past 10 months, 14 statements have been published on compromise and concession. In response, we hear lies and alleged intimidation. In fact, a psychological war is being fanned. Instead of truth, false rumor is being used. The leaders of the seventh alliance issued a statement in reply to our statement on reconciliation. However, not even one line of it has been implemented. Nothing materialized from their assertions and statements on elections and creation of an Afghan government in exile and on the draft of their constitution.

What have they achieved? Nothing. There is an expression among our people that the bended load will not reach its destination. Deep crisis, disunity, and a striving to be rid of; these are the specifications of the seventh alliance. The oppositionists shout loudly that the Soviet forces have occupied Afghanistan. What sort of occupation is this? The internationalists soldiers, by putting their own lives in danger, save thousands of children, women, and old men. They provide the possibility for work and the possibility for peasants to sow grain. They provide assistance in building a peaceful life.

We have said several times that the limited Soviet contingent will return to their country immediately after the United States and its allies guarantee noninterference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. If they were the occupier, they would not have stayed in the mountains in difficult conditions in order to save our country. What value have the claims by oppositionists to the effect that Islam is in danger in the country and in Kabul?

I point out once again some facts: They are more convincing than any word. During the last years, more than 2 billion afghanis have been allocated to build mosques and help the prayer leaders. This sum is 3 times more than the allocation during the 50 years before the revolution for this purpose. Thousands of prayer leaders have been elected to local state power and administration.

However, what have the so-called defenders of Islam done for Afghanistan? They have killed 1,000 prayer leaders because they were working for the people and toward stablization of peace. They have destroyed hundreds of mosques, trampled over tens of sacred places, burned tens of volumes of the Holy Koran.

The reactionary forces swear in the international (?arena) that it will never accept the PDPA in a coalition government. Without doubt this is the hue and cry of the White House. The White House does not want the PDPA to be in charge of [dar ras-e] negotiations on Afghan reconciliation. What one can say to them? The people can see who brings life to Afghanistan and who brings death. The people will resolve this issue without mistake, and the method of their solution will be correct. The people know the great tasks which the PDPA has carried out for a better and peaceful life and which it is still carrying out.

If the leaders of the seventh alliance do not take a constructive stand vis-a-vis national reconciliation we will intensify the process of establishing contacts with commanders of armed groups inside the country and with second level commanders outside the country. We propose to them to take part in structuring coalition administrative organs, by keeping their self-determination in the regions under their own control. Without doubt they will establish mutually beneficial contacts with central government in Kabul. Conference has taken another step toward peace and security. The opposition was invited once again to take the path of compromise and to refrain from hostility between compatriots instead of banging the door of war, so that they would not be ashamed after the reconciliation.

Our conference assessed the issues related to party unity. I must say clearly that the party never faced a split and fall. Our enemies try to show it like this. On the contrary, such a unity, which now exists within the party, has never existed before. The enemies of party unity are the enemies of reconciliation too. In addition, they sabotage its implementation, determinedly resist restructuring, and spread a spirit of defeat. They strive to make party policy fail, a policy aimed at removing mistakes and shortcomings which existed as a result of harshness toward fulfillment of socio-economic changes. The conference demanded decisively that all fractionalists, whatever form they take, should be expelled from the party for ever. The plenum of the Central Committee, which was held on the eve of conference, became an example of decisiveness, exactingness, and (?principles).

When we talk about unity, I use this word in its extensive meaning. One should not think that we are not faced with the problem of unity. This problem relates to another important issue: Unity should be ensured everywhere. It was mentioned in the conference that we need genuine unity in action and work. We approved the path to improve our action at the conference. We determined a program to improve the activities of party and social organizations and (?to complete) the organizational, political, and training work.

The more we work, the sooner peace will occur. Our conference can be called a creative conference. The conference assessed a number of important socio-economic issues and resolved them. Conference expressed

thanks to people for their heroic work. It has been said to all of you that our country is more advanced than the economic indices of prorevolution time. This is a great gain. This is the manifestation of victory by the new system.

The conference approved a number of measures in the economic sphere. These measures include the growth of the state sector, mutual cooperation with private investors, completion of the process of land and water reform, supply of foodstuffs, and other measures. The conference approved proposals on development of training and education, public health, and creation of a state committee in the affairs of the families of martyrs and disabled.

It is now necessary for us to strengthen the armed forces. This is not for the sake of war but peace, which is the motive of all the people. The Afghan citizen who does not play his personal part in the consolidation of army, sarandoy, and state security bodies, cannot call himself a son of the country and furthermore cannot consider himself a patriot. This was stated at the conference. We hope this invitation by conference will be observed and supported everywhere. It is completely within the legal terms that two important political issues were discussed—the draft of the constitution, which forms the legal basis of the national reconciliation policy, and the new draft of the PDPA action program. Soon the process of asking people's views on the draft of the constitution will be concluded. This referendum took a real popular character upon itself. More than 2 million people participated in the referendum. Around 15,000 proposals and viewpoints have been received by the commission for the draft of the constitution. This really is a constitution for the people.

The conference approved a new PDPA action program-.This action program is an important theoretical and political party document. Why has the need for its approval arisen? The transformation which has taken place in all the spheres of society during the last 5 years and also the new policy of national reconciliation created a need to correlate the PDPA action program with society. I stress that there is a strong similarity between the previous action program and its new draft. The determined tasks in the previous action program still exist. Therefore, its determined strategic task—that is the construction of a new and just society in Afghanistan—still remains a priority. Therefore, gaols and theoretical and political instructions, which have successfully passed the test of time, will be kept in the new draft. However, the new draft of the action program is free of the harshness and previous shortcomings in approach regarding basic problems of the revolutionary process. It is obvious at present that the national democratic revolution is a necessary and inevitable step to comprehensively ensure the country's progress. But, the fruits and basic results of this process cannot appear immediately in the very first stages of evolution.

Many changes have occured in the chapter on the new political system. People's interest in peace determined the aim and nature of this chapter. Afghanistan in the new (?term) is a state with the attribute of national sovereignty, and is neutral and nonaligned. I want to mention the discussion about this in the conference. Having national sovereignty means that Afghanistan is an independent country and pursues its own destiny, depending on nothing but the will of God and its people. Neutral: This means that Afghanistan will not take part in the alliances of any countries or support any country in clashes and war. This means that Afghanistan will go forward on the path of peace, that is, no one will ever force Afghanistan to shed its sons' blood for alien interests. Nonaligned: This means that Afghanistan will not enter into any aggressive political and military pact, and its territory will not be put at the disposal of the foreign military bases. This means that Afghanistan will struggle, together with other developing countries, for a peace without nuclear arms races on the planet earth and in space, for a lasting security to establish a new economic system, for its all-round development and evolution in conditions of peace and for cooperation and trust. Afghanistan will be the country that its people want.

The acceptance of the standard of program [as heard] with hearts and minds, practical implementation of the action program is an important matter for the party, people and homeland—for which the party is alive and struggles.

At present, the prestige of our state has risen in the international arena. Our country's national reconciliation policy has generated a vast international reaction, and those who want to continue the policy have been (?come about). This policy has been transformed into a gain for the freedom-giving movement of great numbers of the world masses. International support helps us to resolve the issue of Afghanistan and related matters through political means. The Soviet Union renders great assistance to us in this connection.

We resolved the issues of the invitations to the PDPA Second Congress and the issue concerning preparations for the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution. It is necessary to begin activity everywhere now in order to celebrate it in a worthy manner. I invite each person to play its part in achieving progress, peace and prosperity for the country.

Another specific issue: At the conference we did not pride ourselves on our successes. Serious and critical discussion took place on problems and shortcomings. Those responsible were identified. The main features of our conference were the decisive combative spirit to improve affairs and optimism. This was a conference of revolutionaries of similar minds, strugglers for people's prosperity. The conference demonstrated to both friends and enemies that our party is a real force and is capable of resolving the great issues. During the sessions and plenums which are being held up to now in 19 provinces,

full support has been expressed for conference decisions. Reaction toward the conference is strong and very good. The party members have started to read, discuss, and explain the conference documents. We were able to publish a collection of the conference's documents. I will give a few copies of it to the party committee. You should read these documents. It will give you a chance to experience the spirit of conference and be a part of it.

Comrades, an important role is played by higher educational establishments in resolving these tasks we have discussed. Specialist cadres loyal to the revolution are needed for the country. The conference's attention was focused on the issue of training cadres. A number of measures have been taken to improve the cadres' policy, such as probation and promotion to leading work based on recommendation by party organizations, creation of work unit departments in party committees, and improvement of their training system. This issue is also related to you. The higher education establishments are a kiln to temper cadres.

The PDPA Central Committee and the DRA Government work hard to improve the higher educational establishments and consolidate their financial resources. The numbers in education in our country have increased from 11,000 persons in academic year beginning 21 March 1987 to 17,000 persons in the current academic year. Fundamental changes taken place in the teaching methods of the higher educational establishments. The cadres have been promoted to the level of masters degree in most of the subjects in Kabul University, the polytechnic institute, the medical institute and pedagogical institute. Some time ago the [word indistinct] term began in Polytechnic Institute and has been formed in Kabul University.[sentence as heard] The system of evening classes was also been established in Kabul and Nangahar Universities in the years after the revolution. Therefore, new fields of study, such as making use of machinery and tractors, geodesy, and power engineering have been established in Kabul Polytechnic, and fields such as air conditioning, heating, canalization and supply of water have been established in Nangarhar University. Thereotical traning is continuing side by side with practical training.

After the April Revolution, serious attention was paid to getting workers and peasants' children into the educational establishments. Therefore, a system of accepting them into educational establishments passing a general exam and working faculties were created for them. As a result, the number of the toiling people's children has increased notably in higher educational establishments.

Participation of students in the work brigade is a completely new phenomon, which specifies their social and political activities. During the last 7 months alone of the current year, 3,800 students took part in the structure of a construction brigade to carry out construction work. Around 500 students from Kabul Polytechnic are busy working to rebuild the city of Kandahar and more than 800 students work in various projects in the city of Kabul. The bases of party organizations and youth have been consolidated in the higher educational establishments. At present more than 40 percent of teachers are the PDPA members, and more than 30 percent of students are members of the PDPA and the DYOA. As we cannot train enough cadres in various fields in our country, the other countries help us to resolve this issue.

As a result of huge assistance by friendly countries, headed by the Soviet Union, each year 2,300 persons have been sent to study in higher educational establishments and receive middle profession training or to carry out (?practical) work and [word indistinct] to complete their special field, and so on. The Soviet Union's role in training national cadres for the DRA, like its role in other spheres, has a special importance to our country.

Each year, 1,850 youths are sent to study in the Soviet Union. At the time of electing candidates to go for study, special attention is paid to the workers' and peasants' children and those youths who have carried out their sacred military services. For example, among those new students who were sent to the Soviet Union for study in the year beginning 21 March 1987, 50 percent are toilers' children and 60 percent are representatives of the provinces. Three-fourths of them are youths who fulfilled their sacred military services. At present more than 10,000 Afghan students in the Soviet Union.

Afghan students will play an important role in various political, social and economic spheres of the country after completing their education and returning to the homeland with high qualifications and a political understanding. They work in the Afghan-Soviet state projects such as the Jangalak, Kabul association, the chemical fertilizer and power factory in Masar-e Sharif, the gas and oil research project in Sheberghan, the Kabul silo, the agricultural farm in Jalalabad, AFSOTR, as well as teachers in all the high and middle professional education establishments in the country. They work actively in the party and social organizations, and state bodies.

Great responsibilities have been given to students who study in the Soviet Union. The people and the party, regardless of the continuing war, have freed you from the cause of defending the homeland and have sent you to study. With the assistance of our Soviet friends, a high standard of living has been provided for you here. Here you are away from explosions and the smell of gunpowder, while your compatriots and your classmates inside the country hold in one hand a book and in the other hand, a machine gun. They study and at the same time defend the country. Lack of interest in the logical use of existing possibilities to learn about science and a high political culture, should be assessed as a shameful action by the Afghan and Soviet people and as treachery to the homeland and revolution. Someone who studies badly has an irresponsible approach toward the revolution. Afghans should return home fom the Soviet Union with a high political readiness. The homeland is waiting for

you. The homeland needs your powerful knowledge, your strong hands, your talent, and wisdom. We will welcome you warmly, protect and value you. Remember that a graduate form a Soviet Union educational establihsment is in the reserve of all the posts in all the spheres.

What are our immediate plans? Early in the month beginning 22 November a Grand Assembly will be held, in which the constitution will be approved and the country's president will be elected. I hope you read the Constitution and understand the great importance of the country's Constitution, the grand assembly and the elections to the national council.

The important event is the convocation of the second PDPA Congress and the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution in the months beginning 21 March and 21 April respectively. In order to celebrate these important events in a worthy manner, it is necessary to come nearer to the establishment of peace in the country. This is the most basic stage and to implement it, we should act. We should act and should act again.

The front of your activity is the front of learning. Express consistency, usefulness, and a firmness in acquiring knowledge.

Dear Comrades: Allow me to present medals and decorations to the best students at today's meeting. Considering the fact that a large number of civilian and military students exist here, the PDPA Central Committee decided to present the memorial banner of the party, the Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers to the DYOA Central Committee. Study seriously, work seriously, and win victory under that banner.

'Arafat Addresses Moscow Seminar 5 Nov

JN070916 Baghdad Voice of the PLO in Arabic 1758 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Speech by PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, identified by his nom de guerre Abu 'Ammar, at roundtable seminar opened by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on 5 November—read by announcer]

[Excerpts] It pleases me to be among you today in this important seminar and with this distinguished elite of militant world leaders and figures on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. I extend my greetings and congratulations to Comrade Gorbachev, the friendly Soviet people, and the CPSU leadership. Despite the harsheness of the current cirumstances through which our Palestinian people are going, I felt duty-bound to come to have the honor of sharing with you all the celebrations marking this great historic event.

Dear comrades and brothers, our universe is currently going through fateful, criticial, and dangerous moments, especially as we see the U.S. Government insisting on going ahead with the Star Wars program and nuclear escalation. These actions constitute a true and direct danger to all mankind, since our planet has become saturated with nuclear weapons. [passage omitted]

Hence, we understand the importance of stressing the need to reach an integrated agreement on these nuclear weapons, whether on the Star Wars program, long- or medium-range missiles, or the zero or double-zero option. We must understand, know, and be fully aware of the importance of an agreement to establish peace on this planet. Therefore, we also believe that peace is an indivisible whole. It must be peace for the big and small alike, peace for all mankind. This is not achievable without eliminating all hotbeds of tension and extinguishing the fires in all volatile regions. Through the continuation of these fires, imperialist forces seek to consecrate colonial policies—be they old, new, or ultramodern—in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the rest of the world. These forces maintain volatile hotbeds of tension and add fuel to the fire, as these fires constitute the imperialist method of prolonging the life of the torch of plunder and theft of people's wealth, especially in the Third World and even in their own countries, which claim to have reached an advanced phase of development.

As a result of the pursuit of this policy, and following the ongoing scandal in the stock markets of the capitalist world, the capitalist system has revealed the ugliness of the financial and economic crimes that are being perpetrated, the high price of which is being paid by the weak and some of those who believe that they are strong. This makes it incumbent upon us to reject this colonialist-Zionist-imperialist system, which eventually rests heavily on the backs of the poor, thus further impoverishing them. The situation of the countries that have become hostages to the banks in general and the World Bank in particular face their harsh, cruel, and terrible conditions. If these conditions are accepted, we believe that more than half of the world's people, living in the Third World, will continue to work for decades and centuries as slaves. This will double their debts and the interest being paid on such unjust, ugly debts. [passage omitted]

How can there be peace when the situation in South Africa is deteriorating due to the continuation of the dangerous role being played by the racist regime in Pretoria against the South African people, the continuation of its occupation of Namibia, and the continuation of its aggression against Frontline African states and peoples? We here, from the territory of the land of the October Revolution, pronounce our full support for and solidarity with the people of South Africa, Namibia, and the states and peoples of the frontline African states in their confrontation of and resistance of the racist regime in Pretoria. We also pronounce our unwavering support for the struggle of the peoples of Latin America and Central America and their stands. We also value the agreement that has been reached at the Central American states' summit to defuse the situation there and establish peace.

In the Middle East, the ball of flame is moving among the oilfields, and fleets are massing in an unprecedented manner in this region. This comes as the Iraq-Iran war is continuing and escalating and its fires are gaining momentum—a matter that not only endangers peace in this region but world peace as a whole. Hence, we urgently anppeal for implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598 and an immediate end to this war because it harms the interests of all peoples of the region. An international force must be formed to end this war, protect and guarantee freedom of navigation in the Arabian Gulf, and end this military and naval presence.

In the Middle East, Israel represents a bridgehead for world imperialism led by the United States. This U.S. Administration has forged a strategic and military alliance with it, including participation in the U.S. Star Wars program. The United States provides Israel with full protection and unlimited support in the military, political, economic, financial, information, and diplomatic fields. We have to remember a more dangerous matter— namely, that Israel has introduced nuclear weapons into the Middle East, with the help of the United States and some Western states. Israel has more than once threatened to use these weapons. More than that, the United States has helped Israel produce long-range missiles with nuclear warheads capable of striking at territories inside the Soviet Union and distant Arab, Middle Eastern, and African locations.

The Israeli occupation is not an ordinary colonial phenomenon. It is a Zionist settlement and expansionist colonial phenomenon that was considered by the United Nations as one form of racism. This occupation resulted in expelling 60 percent of our Palestinan people from the land of their grandfathers. The occupation authorities oppressed our people and erected settlements on our land after they had confiscated it. They have confiscated our heritage and Judaized the holy places there. They have even stolen the drinking water used by villages. [passage omitted]

Our people are determined to confront and resist this spiteful Israeli occupation despite the massacres and crimes being perpetrated by our enemies against us.

Dear comrades, our Palestinian people love just peace and struggle to achieve freedom, the twin of peace. Therefore, we look forward to our friends in the world, formost among them the friendly Soviet Union, and Comrade Gorbachev to help establish peace in our region. This is only achievable through the convocation of an effective UN-sponsored international conference with the participation of the five permanent member states of the UN Security Council and all parties to the conflict in the region, including the PLO, which must be represented on an equal footing with other parties. This conference must be based on all UN and UN Security Council resolutions if it is to help realize our people's national rights to self-determination and the establishment of their independent state so that our children can live as free people on their free land like all other children of the world.

I would like to salute and greet the Israeli peace forces that have courageously supported the Palestinian people's exercise of their national rights on Palestinian soil. I would also like to declare an important initiative by calling for declaring the Middle East region and the Mediterranean nuclear-free zones, in confirmation of the policy that has been declared by Gorbachev on the dangers posed to the future of mankind by these nuclear weapons. We declare our acceptance of all international initiatives to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East— something that renders the current Palestinian reality, which has been confirmed by our people in their steadfastness, solidity, and strong will, in complete harmony with the current international reality. This will serve the future of our peoples, away from wars and dangers, and also away from the threat of fatal and destructive nuclear and traditional wars.

A U.S.-imperialist scheme seeks to render all regional and international organizations devoid of content and tear them away, such as the Arab committees, OAU, the ICO, the Nonaligned Movement, and the United Nations. [passage omitted]

Radio Interview

LD071422 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1530 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee who is currently in Moscow on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, gave an interview to our correspondent Sergey Yevgenev.

[Begin recording] [Yevgenev] Your visit to the Soviet Union came after a relatively long period. How do you find the Soviet Union now, and how do you assess the changes being introduced in our country?

['Arafat] Undoubtedly, anyone can easily see the great changes which have taken place in the Soviet Union. It can be seen when contacting ordinary citizens, it can be seen when talking to some leading officials and comrades, and it can be seen in press dialogues and political talks. By this I mean that it can be seen in every section of Soviet society. It is clear that what is taking place is a real revolution. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] The second question to Yasir 'Arafat was about the necessity of a new stance towards the major international issues of modern world and the responsibility of the politicians toward the decisions they make and the actions they take. This idea was pointed out by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU

Central Committee, in his report to the festivities in the Kremlin. Yasir 'Arafat agreed with this point in the report of the Soviet leader. He said:

[Begin 'Arafat recording] Comrade Gorbachev, in his address to this festival, [words indistinct] all the intellectuals, not only in the Soviet Union, but all of the intellectutals in the world.

Now we can to your question about what Comrade Gorbachev has proposed, more than once and in more than one statement, concerning the problems of the Middle East. Here we must recall the first initiative proposed by Comrade Gorbachev during the visit paid by President Mitterrand to the Soviet Union about the international conference [word indistinct] with the participation of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and all the sides of the conflict in the region, including the PLO, on an equal footing, and the preparatory committee which (?will prepare for it). I think that now is the time, more than any previous time, especially as the friendly Soviet Union is close to signing an international strategic treaty [words indistinct] with the United States of America on the double-zero option, formerly the zero option, which will lead to discussing all the foci of tension [two words indistinct], because peace is an integrated indivisible entity. There can never be peace in Europe as long as there is not peace in the Gulf. There can never be peace in Israel unless there is peace in the Palestinian issue. There can never be peace in Latin America or without peace in South Africa. [words indistinct] especially as the nuclear weapons are not now restricted to the United States of America and the Soviet Union as many countries started to join the nuclear club, some of them ar big, such as India, and some of them are small, such as Israel. Israel introduced nuclear weapons into the Middle East. Therefore, it has now become extremely necessary to achieve a just solution in order to establish permanent, just peace in the Middle East through which the Palestinians would be able to fulfill their national rights ratified by the UN. [end recoridng]

[Announcer] In response to the request of the Radio Moscow correspondent, Yasir 'Arafat talked about the coming Amman Arab summit.

[Begin 'Arafat recording] There is no doubt that this summit will be one of the most important Arab summits, this is in addition to the fact that it is an emergency summit, because it comes during very complicated circumstances, not only for our Arab nation, and not only for the Middle East, but for the whole world. We should not forget that this summit comes on the eve of the superpower summit. Starting from this premise, it is important that this summit should achieve clear success and positive results so that we will actually be able to give our Soviet friends strong cards as they face the U.S. imperialist power to play to fulfill the national rights of the Palestinian people and the current Arab issues, including a cease-fire in the Gulf war. [end recording]

Holds News Conference

LD061654 Moscow TASS in English 1548 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—"I am dreaming of peace for Palestine and such a peace is not a utopia. Several years ago we were alone but now the conviction of an international conference on the Middle East is a demand of the entire world community", Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), commander-in-chief of the forces of the Palestinian revolution, stated today. His appearance at the Press Centre for the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution was received with applause.

He said the PLO has always appreciated the firm and consistent stand taken by the Soviet Union in respect of the Palestinian problem and first of all the problem of convening an international conference on the Middle East. He noted that Arabs had no differences on this key issue. "Even those four or five states that did not attend the summit in Casablanca in 1985 have subsequently taken a firm stand and are now prepared to take part in such a conference".

"I am speaking about the convocation of an effective conference under the aegis of the United Nations with the participation of the Soviet Union, the United States and all other permanent members of the Security Council, as well as all the sides taking part in the conflict, including the PLO on a par with the rest, and on the basis of all resolutions of the United Nations Organization and the Security Council", he said.

Yasir 'Arafat stated that the American Administration's obstructionist stand was the main obstacle to holding such a conference. "Although some officials in Washington do declare from time to time their interest in holding such an international conference they are not speaking out on this subject with sufficient clarity and formally", he said.

The chairman of the PLO Executive Committee criticised the stand of the Israeli authorities who are impeding a genuine Middle East settlement. He noted at the same time that even in Israel there are representatives of peace forces coming out in support of the implementation of the national rights of the Palestinian people on the land of Palestine. "And from here, from Moscow, it is my duty to express our gratitude to these respected people and movements", Yasir 'Arafat said.

When replying to questions by journalists Yasir 'Arafat said that a genuine revolution was now taking place in the Soviet Union. "The Soviet Union struggles for progress not only for its peoples but is opening up broad horizons for the whole of mankind", he stated.

'Rumors Untrue'

JN071712 Sanaa Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1600 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Brother Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat], PLO Executive Committee chairman and commander in chief of the Palestinian Revolution Forces said he held talks with USSR leader Mikhail Gorbachev on several issues, foremost being developments in the Palestine question and the Arab-Zionist conflict in addition to relations between the PLO and the USSR.

In a news conference held in Moscow yesterday, he added that the talks also dealt with the proposed international conference on the Middle East. Brother leader Abu 'Ammar described his talks with leader Gorbachev as positive and extremely important. He asserted that the USSR will not resume diplomatic relations with the Zionist enemy. He said rumors about the possibility of resuming Soviet-Israeli relations are untrue.

Egyptian Guest Addresses Moscow Rayon

PM091031 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Nov 87 p 7

[TASS report on speech delivered by Husayn 'Abd al-Raziq, member of the Egyptian National Progressive Unionist Grouping (Left) and editor in chief of *Al-Ahali*, at a ceremonial session of Moscow's Tushinskiy Rayon—date not given]

[Text] On behalf of the Egyptian National Progressive Unionist Grouping (Left), the speaker congratulated the Soviet people on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, speaking at a ceremonial session of Moscow's Tushinskiy Rayon.

From the moment of its formation in 1976 to the present day our party, he said, has waged a struggle, defending the interests of our country's working people, to end its dependence on imperialism and subordination to Zionism and to win victory for socialism.

Great October concerns all peoples struggling for their freedom and independence and for economic development and social progress. This matter concerns all strata of society struggling for the victory of social justice and socialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution and the experience of socialist building in the Soviet Union have been an example and model, a factor for reliable defense, and a basic element in development and progress not only for us in Egypt but also for all peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The formation of the USSR in 1922, the successes and achievements in socialist building, and the victory in World War II transformed the USSR into a powerful force in the world arena.

This gave us all hope and support, proving that a people freed from the power of the ruling minority can establish justice and happiness on earth.

The Soviet Union has always helped and supported the peoples of the world and national liberation movements in their struggle for independent development. It has given economic aid and shared experience. This has always played a decisive role for liberated states in their struggle for industrialization and agrarian development and in their struggle to rid themselves of economic dependence on the capitalist world and opened up the way for the transition to socialism.

The formation of the Soviet Union, its strength and might became a factor restraining the forces of colonialism which tried after World War II to apply force and to impede the development of national liberation movements.

The development of Egypt owes a great deal to the aid of the Soviet Union and its resolute, firm position. Thus, the entire Egyptian people remember the USSR's resolute warning to Britain, France, and Israel during their triple aggression against Egypt in 1956.

Hundreds of plants and enterprises, constructed in the sixties with the help of the USSR, are operating in our country.

To this day the Aswan high dam is a great symbol of the friendship of the Egyptian and Soviet peoples. If it did not exist, our country, like many African countries, would be racked by hunger and drought.

The Egyptian people gratefully remember the Soviet military specialists who offered us help in reorganizing the Egyptian Armed Forces after the Israeli aggression against our country in 1967. It was they, equipped with Soviet weapons, who were able, thanks to the USSR's political and diplomatic assistance, to win a victory over Zionism and Israel in the October 1973 war.

We are following attentively what has taken place in your country since the 27th CPSU Congress. We also see the difficulties which your struggle is encountering. However, we believe that, under the leadership of the CPSU headed by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, you will be able to overcome all difficulties. Today we are witnessing the new spring of socialism in your country and the return to the essence of Lenin's ideas.

The party of the great Lenin will be able, without any doubt, to get rid of the stagnant phenomena which distorted the makeup of socialism in order to prove to the whole world that socialism is the only path which can guarantee fundamental human rights, the visitor said in conclusion. Socialism is freedom, it is prosperity, and 70 years on you have a right to possess the real fruits of your struggle.

Jabir Meets Egyptian Officials in Moscow

LD072238 Tripoli JANA in English 1844 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, Al Harth [Nov] 7, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—Colonel Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir, the commander in chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, received, yesterday in Moscow, Dr Fu'ad Mursi, the former planning minister in the government of late leader Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir and member of the progressive national Alliance in Egypt. Di'a al-Din Dawud, the member of the Central Committee of the Arab Unionist Socialist Party in the Government of the late leader Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir and member of the Secretariat of the Alliance Party and editor in chief of the opposition Egyptian paper *Al-Ahali*.

The delegation asserted that the struggle for the downfall of the treacherous Stable David Accords will continue to be as a necessity for the return of Egypt to the Arab fold and recovering its Panarabist role in confronting the invaders and imperialist schemes.

The delegation welcomed the call for convening a meeting for the Arab patriotic and progressive forces in Great Jamahiriyah and its appreciation of the importance of such meeting and accepting the invitation to attend.

Angola's Dos Santos Speaks

MB061505 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 6 Nov 87

["Excerpts" of speech by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos at a meeting of the delegations attending the Great October Socialist Revolution celebrations in Moscow on 5 November—recorded]

[Text] I would like to call the attention of all present to the fact that Angola is located in an area of great tension. It is faced with continuing aggression and destabilization by the racist South African regime.

The same forces which were objective allies of the colonial power prior to independence have joined forces in one of the most sinister conspiracies against the Angolan people, attempting to undermine their gains and destroy the MPLA-Labor [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor] Party. As in 1975, when two foreign armies invaded Angola and organized different plots through puppet and mercenary forces in the service of imperialism and apartheid, today military destabilization originates both in the north and the south, from where the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] gangs usually enter from abroad.

With the support of the U.S. Administration and other allies, this year the racist South African regime introduced in southern Angola important war equipment and forces designed to fight alongside UNITA, thus preventing its total defeat. They used artillery with a 40-50 km range, self-propelled artillery, armored cars, helicopters, and modern war planes. Our forces were better equipped with anti-aircraft devices, and thus we managed to shoot down more than 35 airplanes and helicopters over the course of 2 months. Large quantities of weapons were captured, in addition to losses suffered by the enemy.

Meanwhile, forces of the racist South African Army have occupied an important part of our territory on the border with Namibia.

While the apartheid system is in power there will be war and instability in southern Africa, considering the inhuman and aggressive nature of that regime. Only with the eradication of apartheid, the political and social system which forms the basis of the southern African conflict, will an atmosphere of peace and harmony necessary for the progress and development of the people in the region be created. It is urgent that (?we achieve this, in that this) will serve the interests of those seeking a negotiated political solution between the South African Government and the viable and patriotic political organizations, with the ANC as the main force, with a view to dismantling apartheid and establishing democracy for all in South Africa.

Accordingly, the Frontline States have been encouraging the international community to exert increasing pressure on the Pretoria regime in order to hasten the abolition of the apartheid system, grant independence to Namibia on the basis of relevant UN resolutions, and guarantee respect for territorial integrity and independence of countries in the region.

Worried about its future, the racist white minority of South Africa has decided to arm itself to the teeth in order to impose its will by the force of arms and bayonets, through brutal and bloody repression at home and state terrorism against neighboring countries. The white minority believes that in doing this it can guarantee its own safety. It is unwilling to tackle the real cause of instability and insecurity—the apartheid regime, based on racial discrimination and social injustice.

Internal social contradictions and tensions have reached great heights, and an explosion of unforseeable consequences is imminent. While repression increases, resistance and the people's war expand. The growth of the ranks of democratic and patriotic organizations as members of the white community join is for us an indication that in South Africa a democratic and multiracial regime, based on the political will of the vast black majority, is possible. In order to achieve this it is necessary to further pressure the Pieter Botha regime into taking the indispensable historic step: negotiating the future of South Africa with representatives of viable patriotic organizations.

The political, labor, and other forms of struggle waged by the patriots at home are an (?extraordinarily) peaceful kind of pressure. However, the international community, particularly progressive forces, should increase their pressure by all means at their disposal. Since there is no direct colonialism and, therefore, no ruling power, the question that will one day arise is whether the Army and other repressive forces of the state will be dismantled, or how security and protection of the people will be guaranteed so that they may freely decide the democratic future of South Africa.

Holds Interview

LD071158 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0710 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, 7 Nov (TASS)—The Angolan delegation's stay in Moscow at the celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of Great October was not only pleasant, but very useful, stated Eduardo Dos Santos, general secretary of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and president of the People's Republic of Angola. The speech made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the ceremonial session in the Kremlin made a particular impression on our delegation, he noted.

In an interview with TASS correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy, the Angolan president said that Mikhail Gorbachev's deep and all-round analysis outlined the historical path of the Soviet Union, the global problems of the present, and international relations. The contents of the Soviet leader's report represent an item of enormous vlaue on the ideological and theoretical planes for all Communist and workers' parties and national liberation movements.

The 2-day Kremlin meeting of representatives of parties, organizations and movements taking part in the celebrations marking the 70th October anniversary was also unique in its composition and content, Eduardo Dos Santos noted. It is pleasant to note that those who spoke in the course of the discussions expressed a unanimous view on the global problems of the present. They all spoke of the impermissibility of using force in solving disputed issues, the necessity for disarmament and ending the arms race, and of the creation of a peaceful international community in which everything will be done only for the good, and not harm, of man. The Kremlin meeting demonstrated that all progressive forces can act jointly in the implementation of the aims which are important for mankind, and can utilize the achievements of science and technology for the purposes of development, and not destruction.

Talking about the situation in southern Africa, the Angolan leader noted that the main cause of tension in the region is the aggressive policy of the Pretoria regime. The People's Republic of Angola, he stressed, comes out firmly in favor of granting freedom and independence to the people of Namibia in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435, demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of RSA troops from Angolan territory, an end to the aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, and an end to the foreign assistance to UNITA [National Union for Total Independence for Angola].

The president gave a high assessment of Angolan-Soviet relations, recalling that the Soviet Union has consistently and firmly supported the struggle of the people of Angola for liberation from colonial yoke. After Angola gained independence our relations rose to a qualitatively new level. Today's Eduardo Dos Santos emphasized it is difficult to name a political, economic or social sphere of activity in which the most fruitful and mutually beneficial cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Angola could not develop.

Mozambique's Dos Santos Speaks

MB061653 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 5 Nov 87

[Text] Marcelino dos Santos, chairman of the People's Assembly of Mozambique, has singled out the contribution of the Great October Socialist Revolution to the colonized and oppressed peoples. Speaking in Moscow yesterday to the delegations attending the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Mozambican leader said that socialism presently exerts a positive influence on the course of world history, particularly on efforts aimed at safeguarding peace and guaranteeing the existence of humanity. Accordingly, the chairman of the People's Assembly of Mozambique hailed, on behalf of his government, recent progress in Soviet-U.S. talks on disarmament, namely the setting of a date for the next Reagan-Gorbachev summit.

In his speech, Marcelino dos Santos took the opportunity to deal with the explosive situation prevailing in southern Africa:

[Begin Dos Santos recording] Under the leadership of the the Frelimo Party, (?the Mozambican people) are still deeply engaged in the process of consolidating their national independence and the battle for economic development. In this combat, the People's Republic of Mozambique has joined forced with the other southern African countries in order to overcome underdevelopment, achieve economic freedom, and create an atmosphere of peace, stability, and progress in this region.

This action by the southern African people, designed to achieve their material and spiritual development, takes place amid confrontation with the minority, racist and criminal regime of South Africa, the apartheid regime. Apartheid is an obstacle to development, progress, and peace in southern Africa. As Comrade President Samora Moises Machel said, apartheid is the nazism of our era. Apartheid is a crime against humanity and the destabilizing force in southern African countries. The only right

granted by apartheid is the right of the whites to oppress the blacks. In doing this, apartheid is degrading the white man. Denying blacks their condition as men degrades the black man.

This is the reality of apartheid. This explains why the armed bandits in Mozambique are capable of destroying and setting alight a bus full of passengers; of entering a hospital and killing patients, like they did in Homoine; and entering a maternity ward and killing pregnant women. This is the reality of apartheid. So, let us be clear about this. It is necessary to be clear and have conviction. Apartheid cannot be reformed. We should ask whether there is anyone in this hall who today thinks it could have been possible to reform nazism. Therefore, comrades and friends, it is necessary to annihilate apartheid.

Aware of this reality, the peoples of southern Africa therefore have pursued with increasing resolve an economic and social development process in each country and in the region, while stepping up the struggle against the direct and indirect armed aggression by the South African regime. The tasks to be carried out have already been outlined. The southern African countries, which have different economic and social systems, are deeply engaged in the fulfillment of a joint development through the implementation of complementary programs and projects. Already, they are forging and developing solidary and interdependent relations.

We also believe that we all agree with the demand that the international community as a whole ought to give to the South African and Namibian peoples, led by the ANC [African National Congress] and SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] respectively, the necessary support for the stepping up of their combat for justice, equality, and independence. In addition, the international community should give political, economic, and military support to the Frontline States and must apply general sanctions against the South African regime. Accordingly, it is particularly necessary that the UN Security Council fulfill the will of the peoples by opting for general sanctions against South Africa. [end recording]

In his speech before the foreign delegations in Moscow attending the ceremonies marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the chairman of the People's Assembly of Mozambique thanked the USSR for its support for his country, which is faced with countless problems. Finally, Marcelino dos Santos called on the international community to grant assistance to the People's Republic of Mozambique, presently engaged in an emergency economic rehabilitation program.

Laos' Kaysone Speaks 5 Nov

BK091221 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 1400 GMT 8 Nov 87

[Speech by Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the LPDR Council of Ministers and head of the Lao party-government delegation attending the celebration of the 70th anniversary of Great October Socialist Revolution in the USSR, delivered in Moscow on 5 November—recorded]

[Text] Respected Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev,

Comrades and friends:

First of all, I would like to hail the CPSU Central Committee for initiating this extremely important and useful meeting, which is a good opportunity for leaders of parties and movements from all over the world to exchange views on important international issues. I believe that our contemporary world is extremely confusing and is a universe full of contradictions, but is also changing in accordance with the law of development to become a more advanced new society with the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR] as the curtain raiser. This calls for a new perception to correctly view the current world and to resolve numerous problems in accordance with new attitudes. The current international situation has posed numerous urgent problems of a global nature, for example, the protection of civilization and the environment, the exploitation of natural resources, effective use of the successes of the scientific and technical revolution, and the stamping out of hardships, backwardness, and ignorance. But the most urgent problem of all is the issue of safeguarding peace, because it is related to other important issues such as the life and death of mankind, democracy and social progress, socio-economic development, the improvement of the living conditions of people in underdeveloped countries, and so forth.

Of these, I would like to talk about the issue of peace first. Examining this issue, we can see numerous conflicts in the international arena. These are, on the one side, imperialism still wanting to retain forever the system of man exploiting man and oppressing other nations, the arms race, and the global military confrontation, and, on the other side, socialism and progressive and peace-loving forces united as one to oppose vigorously the danger of a nuclear war in order to consolidate peace and social progress.

The primary enemy of the countries struggling for peace, national independence, and social progress in the world is imperialism, which started the two World Wars and killed millions of people, and is now vehemently opposing the world revolutionary movement and peace, carrying out the arms race with the aim of controlling the world, and using the achievements of the scientific and

technical revolution to produce numerous powerful deadly weapons, including the SDI program, aimed at gaining the position of military superiority.

In the face of this development, even though the movements struggle for peace and the reduction of armed forces have scored numerous important initial victories, it is urgent that all forces and nations forge their alliance to continue the large-scale struggle through various forms and tactics so as to gradually halt and thwart the warmongering acts, arms race, interference, and aggression by imperialism. First of all, the socialist countries must grow stronger and more powerful in order to enhance further their role of being the bulwark for all forces struggling for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress. Experience has shown that as long as the socialist countries are closely united, actively pursue a policy of peace, and possess strength in the economic and national defense fields, the imperialists will always stay away. It has also shown that the acceleration of socioeconomic development is not only an urgent duty of the socialist countries but a contribution to solving the problems of peace as well.

The more highly capitalist society has developed, the more clearly its fundamental conflicts have been exposed. The working class, the laboring people, and the people of all strata are encountering even more difficulties and shortcomings, while unemployment is becoming more acute and social vices are increasing. The material and moral life of the people is becoming more complicated with every passing day. More serious still, the threat of a nuclear war looms constantly.

Thus, the most urgent and important action that must be taken by all progressive political parties is to strive to unite all forces and strata into a broad united front in order to fight against the state monopolistic capitalists and transnational corporations for peace, against the arms race, against the threat of a nuclear war, and against unemployment, to attain democracy, and to improve the people's living conditions.

After World War II, the national liberation movements became highly active. Several countries have already regained political independence. Nevertheless, at present these countries remain economically backward and are heavily in debt due to the control of and interference by neocolonialists. Thus, it is necessary that these countries must oppose not only the policy of interference, division, and subversion as well as the economic control of the imperialists by demanding a new economic order be urgently established to resolve their debt problems, but also oppose the arms race policy and the threat of a nuclear war.

Realizing the close relationship between the reduction of armed forces and the development of all nations, the Nonaligned Movement has become a part of the struggle for peace in the world. The Harare appeal of the 8th Nonaligned Summit has already testified to this fact. We are of the opinion that this appeal must be translated into reality with close coordination between the Nonaligned Movement, national liberation and democratic movements, and the international workers and communist movement in order to create a consolidated strength to gradually encircle, repulse, and smash the imperialist reactionary forces and the neocolonialists.

After the birth of the first socialist state, Lenin pointed out the capability and need for countries with different social systems to coexist peacefully. To coexist peacefully with one another is an objective call of our era. It is the genuine aspiration of all countries because peace is the indispensible condition for development in each country. To achieve this objective, it is important that confrontation must be changed into negotiation and hospitality into cooperation. That is why we fully support the tireless efforts, principled stance, and important initiatives of the Soviet Union, aimed at ending the arms race and eliminating the threat of a nuclear war, and for the peace and security of all countries, friendship, and cooperation.

Over the past 40 years, Southeast Asia has been plagued with fierce and protracted large-scale wars. At present, there is no genuine peace and stability in this region. Therefore, confrontation must be halted, peaceful settlement of problems pursued, and relations of good-neighborliness built without external interference. This is the urgent call of the countries in this region.

Having made sacrifices in the war against the imperialists aggressors for several decades, the Lao people have aspired to live in peace to build their country. The LPDR, the PRK, and the SRV pledge to do our best to turn Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone and a zone of peace, stability, friendship, cooperation. We believe that the settlement of the Cambodian problem must be linked to the problem of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. We completely support the 8 October 1987 statement of the PRK Government, aimed at settling the Cambodian problem through political means. The creation of firm conditions for the development of the countries in Southeast Asia in an atmosphere of peace, friendship, and cooperation is a call as well as a high responsibility of the countries in this region. There is no other avenue for achieving this goal than negotiations between the three Indo-Chinese countries and the ASEAN countries with a sense of good will, sincere cooperation, and mutual benefit.

Laos and Thailand have maintained relations of good-neighborliness for a long time. The two countries have aspired to coexist peacefully together. That is why the LPDR always shows its good intention to develop the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and believes that all problems arising in the relations between the two countries must be settled through negotiations based on the spirit of mutual understanding and respect. Firmly adhering to this perception, we have recently held and will continue to hold

negotiations with Thailand to restore and develop the relations between our two countries in accordance with the principle spelled out in the 1979 joint Lao-Thai communiques.

As for neighboring China — which is a big country, a member of the UN Security Council, and has a responsibility concering peace in Southeast Asia, the Asia-Pacific region, and the world — we reaffirm that our unchangable stand is not to decrease our efforts to preserve and safeguard our friendship with the Chinese people. We aspire to see the relations between Laos and China normalized on the basis of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, nonaggression, equality and mutual interests, and peaceful coexistence. This stand completely conforms to the interests of peace, friendship, and mutual cooperation between the two countries and among the countries in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region. We completely support the good intentions of the Soviet Union in trying to restore normal relations with the PRC.

The United States plays an important role in Southeast Asia because peace and stability in this region more or less depend on the United States. We wish to see Lao-U.S. relations normalized with the aim of resolving the humanitarian problems of the two sides, including the search for Americans missing from the war. We call on the United States to cease interference in the internal affairs of Laos and to pave the way for the relations between the two countries to return to normal on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

The LPDR continues to develop relations, cooperation, and friendship with all countries regardless of their social systems on the basis of mutual respect for one another's independence and sovereignty, equality, and mutual interests.

After the completion of our national-democratic revolution, our people choose the path of advancing toward socialism without passing through capitalism. Laos is a small country with an extremely backward economy. Moreover, it is also constantly faced with subversive and sabotage activities carried out in various fields by reactionary elements. Nevertheless, in the past 13 years, implementing the decisions adopted at the party congresses plus with the support, assistance, and cooperation of friends all over the world, first of all of the socialist countries—especially the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and Cambodia, the Lao people have scored great achievements in the cause of defending the country and building socialism. These victories have become important contributions to increasing the might of the three Indo-Chinese countries, the strength of the socialist community, and to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress in Southeast Asia and the world. We believe that to attain development, we must have not only the condition of peace, but also cooperation and assistance from fraternal countries and our friends.

Comrades and friends, at present we are living in the era of the scientific and technical revolution. There is also a trend toward broadening the division of work and cooperation in all countries, including those countries with different economic and social systems. We regard the combination of national and international factors and that of tradition and the epoch of development, as well as the effective utilization of all capabilities in broadening relations and economic, scientific, and technical cooperation as the most important factor in utilizing all favorable international conditions for developing the good posture of the country. Peace, friendship, and cooperation among all countries are the common call of all the participants at this meeting. We hope that this resounding and urgent call will arouse all progressive forces and morally conscious persons in the world who are responsible for the destiny of mankind and will encourage all of us to renew our efforts and enthusiasm to advance toward durable peace. For the interests of our nation and mankind, we are determined to walk along this path.

I would like to end my speech here. Thank you.

Reportage on Castro Meetings

Meets Gorbachev, Others

FL071315 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Cuban and Soviet leaders, Fidel Castro and Mikhail Gorbachev, met yesterday in Moscow. They discussed a wide range of bilateral and international affairs in an atmosphere of camaraderie and total mutual understanding.

The Cuban president also met with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. They considered the future strengthening of Cuba's internationalist cooperation in the defense of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity as a fundamental premise for the solution of the problems of the southern African region.

Likewise, the chief of the Cuban Revolution met with Nguyen Van Linh, leader of the Vietnam Communist Party. They talked at length about important world affairs and exchanged information on the situation in the two countries and Cuba and Vietnam's main tasks.

The commander in chief also met in Moscow with Afgan leader Muhammad Najibullah. Fidel confirmed that Cuba has always favored a just political solution to the Afghan problem and, because of this, supports the national reconciliation policy.

Meets Vietnamese Leaders

FL062310 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 2232 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro Ruz met today in Moscow with Nguyen Van Linh, secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party and Pham Van Dong, chairman of the Council of State.

During his extensive dialogue with the two Vietnamese officials, Fidel referred to current international topics and exchanged ideas on the situations and tasks of the two countries.

Talks With Mengistu

EA081742 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic 1000 GMT 8 Nov 87

[Text] Comrade President Mengistu Yesterday evening held talks with Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz in Moscow. Ethiopian News Agency palace reporter Asefa Seyoum has telephoned a report from Moscow.

[Begin Asefa recording] Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, secretary general of the WPE Central Committee, PDRE president and commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, yesterday evening met the Cuban leader Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz for the second time and held extensive talks on common issues. The talks between the two leaders in Moscow centered on the existing friendship between Ethiopia and Cuba and also reviewed the present international situation.

During the talks Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz told Comrade President Mengistu that the formation of the Peoples Democratic Republic in Ethiopia through the historic struggle of its determined sons and daughters and the victory of (?joy) it resulted in is not only for the Ethiopian Revolution alone but is also for him and for the entire Cuban people.

Present at the ceremony were Comrade Ashagre Yigletu, member and secretary of the WPE Central Committee; comrade Mengistu Gemechu, member of the WPE Central Committee, head of the PDRE President's Office and special aide to the comrade president, and Comrade Asrat Wolde, member of the WPE Central Committee and Ethiopian ambassador to the USSR. [end recording]

Activites, Comments of Foreign Delegates

Japan's Usami Interviewed

OW070409 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 5 Nov 87

[Excerpts] This week, various activites were held in the Soviet Union to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Guests arrived in Moscow from various parts of the world to attend the ceremonies marking the GOSR. Among them are guests from Japan. A reporter from the Central Radio Moscow met one of the Japanese guests, Shoichiro Usami, vice president of the Japan-USSR Society and professor emeritus of Hokkaido University. At the invitation of the USSR-Japan Society, Mr Usami is visiting the Soviet Union and he attended the celebrations held at the Kremlin on 2 November.

Now, let us ask Mr Usami about his impressions of attending the ceremony. [Begin Usami recording in Japanese] First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to the host country for inviting me and also my hearty congratulations to the Soviet people on this occasion. I was greatly impressed with Mr Gorbachev's speech. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Next, Mr Usami speaks on the current situation of and future prospects for the Japan-USSR relations as follows:

[Begin Usami recording] At present, we are worried because we feel that the Japanese Government does not necessarily have the idea of promoting friendship with the Soviet Union. This is probably because of various political relations between Japan and the United States. After all, some of the people have hostile feelings about the Soviet Union. This seems to have been created by mass media. For example, some people feel threatened by the Soviet Union. Such a trend is not good. As I have mentioned, through the efforts of private organizations, we want to have good understanding of the Soviet Union and promote friendship with the Soviet Union. As far as the Japan-USSR Society is concerned, our position is to promote friendly relations not only with the Soviet Union but also with all countries in the world, naturally including the United States. In this connection, as I have mentioned earlier, private-sector diplomacy is of great significance, and particularly at the present. [end recording]

Japan's Dietman Hara Cited

OW070151 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 5 Nov 87

[Text] In an interview with TASS, Mr Bunbee Hara, member of Japan's House of Councilors, said the following:

It was for the first time in my life that I attended such a big gathering as the ceremony marking the 70th GOSR anniversary in the Kremlin.

General Secretary Gorbachev's detailed speech, which was available also in Japanese translation, gives a clear description of the Soviet history from the time of the GOSR to the modern time. General Secretary Gorbachev explained about the perestroyka which is now going in the Soviet Union in earnest and also in such a way as can be easily understood. General Secretary Gorbachev's speech was impressive both in the way it was presented and in its contents. His speech was frank and full of convincing remarks. Both positive and negative sides of the situation were clearly described exactly as they exist.

Of course, friendly and good-neighborly relations between Japan and the Soviet Union must be maintained. To realize this, we must have peace in the whole world. As a member of the Japanese-Soviet Friendship Parliamentarians' League, I consider this my greatest duty.

New Zealand's Tucker Optimistic

LD070538 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov:

Mikhail Gorbachev's report at the ceremonial meeting in the Kremlin is a very interesting document, said Marilyn Tucker, acting general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand. She is attending the current celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Moscow.

She told the TASS correspondent that the problems touched upon in the report made it a historic document and added that it gave an objective analysis both of the Soviet Union's victories and difficulties it had to live through over 70 years.

Marilyn Tucker pointed out that New Zealand regarded the forthcoming summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan as a breakthrough in the campaign for peace and disarmament. She called it a step towards establishing a nuclear-free world taking due account of the fact that there are still enough forces trying to whip up the arms race and said that the U.S. intentions to go ahead with the "Star Wars" was a big obstacle on the way towards disarmament and a nuclear-free world. Tucker expressed hope that the upcoming summit would apve the way for an agreement on other types of missiles.

Marilyn Tucker noted a good atmosphere which reigned at the Moscow meeting. Representatives of parties and movements spoke in favour of joint settlement of problems of mutual concern, such as nuclear weapons issues, environmental protection and more rational use of world resources.

It is necessary to overcome the existing differences so that the world could move towards progress.

Heng Samrin Visits Museum

LD082057 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 8 Nov 87

[Text] The party and government delegation of the Kampuchean People's Republic, headed by Heng Samrin, general secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, today visited the Central Museum of the Revolution of the USSR.

The delegation familiarized itself with an exhibition telling of the sources of the three revoltuions in Russia, the victory, and the historic exploits of the Great October Revolution and its international significance. The guests' attention was drawn to the CPSU'S multifacted activities in implementing a course toward speeding up the country's socio-economic development and the revolutionary process of restructuring.

India's Ayer Desires Peace

LD080430 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Gavrilenko:

I am deeply aware of the great significance of the 1917 October Revolution. So I am here to attend the celebrations of the great anniversary and represent many millions of Indians who favor friendship with the Soviet Union, said member of the presidium of the Indian-Soviet Culture Society Krishna Ayer.

The whole world is here to share in the festivities, the prominent activist told TASS. Small wonder: The Great October has become humanity's common property.

Intergovernmental Indian-Soviet relations have been good since the times of Jawaharlal Nehru who himself experienced a great influence of the 1917 revolution in Russia. It was Nehru who was to become the architect of friendly relations with the Soviet government. Since then friendship with the USSR has been a cornerstone of India's foreign policy.

The tradition was carried on by Indiar Gandhi and other Indian leaders.

Feelings of profound friendship have long become a tradition with our countries' peoples, both of many millions. Sincerity, goodwill and friendliness towards the Soviet people are there, wherever you may go in India. The Soviet people on their part gladly and willingly display profound friendship towards India and its people. I have been to most of the union republics and wherever I went I could feel friendliness and a deep interest in India.

The underlying cause is the shared desire for peace, Ayer believes. A backward country under colonialism, India is now striving towards development, for which peace is indispensable. Both our countries aspire to disarmament.

Both our countries come out for peaceful co-existence and a socialist way of development. We are against capitalism.

Al-Ahmar Meets Najibullah, Others

JN060732 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0515 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow—The Syrian Arab delegation under Comrade 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, Ba'th Party assistant secretary general, continued its contacts and meetings with the heads of delegations attending the 70th anniversary

of the October Socialist Revolution. Comrade Al-Ahmar met with Najibullah, secretary general of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and president of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The discussion during the meeting dealt with the state of affairs in Afghanistan and the Arab region and other topics of mutual interest. Comrade al-Ahmar conveyed to Najibullah greetings from brother Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, Ba'th Party secretary general and SAR president. Najibullah asked al-Ahmar to convey his greetings to President Hafiz al-Asad.

Comrade al-Ahmar also met with Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the Communist Party of Greece; (Ramkan Ram), secretary general of the Indian National Congress [title as heard]; Marcelino dos Santos, secretary of the Permanent Commission of the Mozambique People's Assembly and member of the secretriat of the Mozambique Liberation Front—Frelimo; and Jozef Czyrek, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Polish United Workers Party Politburo. The discussion during these meetings dealt with issues of cooperation between the Ba'th Party and the concerned parties and the most prominent developments in our region and in the international arena.

Ireland's Garland on Unity

LD080312 Moscow TASS in English 1208 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—"There are episodes in human experience which leave indelible marks, which are a change not only in political experience and revolutions in social and economic organizations, but which also denote a new departure in philosophical and moral understanding of the human condition," Sean Garland, general secretary of the Workers' Party of Ireland, has said in remarks prepared for delivery at a Moscow meeting of representatives of parties and movements attending festivities in Moscow on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

"Such was the case in October 1917 in Russia and the effects of 1917 are still manifesting themselves in the Soviet Union," he added.

"The new global concepts of perestroika and glasnost indicate that the revolutionary political, economic and moral vitality of the '10 days that shook the world' are still reverbating not only throughout the ussr, but also impacting, paradoxically, on the constant enemies of socialist freedom and human triumph," Garland said.

After describing the situation in Ireland and the experience of his party in the campaign against terrorism and religious sectarianiam, he stressed collectivism and unity of action as the imperative of our age. Garland called for mobilizing all capacities and going forward with fresh strategies to win the masses for a peaceful, democratic, free and prosperous world.

Historians' Press Conference on Glasnost

PM051505 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 3

[A. Kuvshinnikov and A. Cherepanov report: "Taking Fire, Not Ashes From History"]

[Text] As glasnost is established in our country, its light also penetrates the past and history. Prominent Soviet historians shared their thoughts on this subject at the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution press center.

We are on the eve of a great and radiant holiday. Looking back today over the path we have traveled—the refrain was heard from all the participants in the press conference—we can rightly speak of legitimate pride in what has been achieved. Despite all the difficulties and the ordeals which have fallen to the lot of the pioneering Soviet people, the USSR has become a mighty power with a highly developed economic base, science, and culture. Today we are reflecting on 70 years of intense creation by our people, who are ready even now to devote all their efforts and capabilities to the revolutionary transformation of life.

M.S. Gorbachev's report at the ceremonial session in the Kremlin opens up vast horizons for historians, G.L. Smirnov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, stressed. But already the question has been heard: Does it not at the same time set certain limits restricting the sphere of research? On the contrary, the report provides the broadest opportunity for further creative searching. And if some people saw it differently, as permitting no deviations to the right, to the left, forward, or backward, that reflects a somewhat outmoded idea of the events taking place in the USSR.

Developing his colleague's thought, Yu.A. Polyakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, stressed that the historical section of M.S. Gorbachev's report consolidates and develops the progressive trends which have taken shape in Soviet historiography this year, which has been very turbulent for it. It does not merely declare the truth of history, but confirms it, and does so not via emotions and unthinking belief, not by being a categorical guide, but via logic and facts.

The first question came from a Hungarian Television correspondent, who asked in what directions the work to create a new "History of the CPSU" will be conducted. "And please," the journalist asked, "clarify the question of the number of victims of the personality cult."

A CPSU Central Committee commission will be created, G.L. Smirnov said, to work on the new edition of the party history. Of course our institute will take the most active part in resolving this task. A number of most complex periods are already being reinterpreted, above

all questions of the ideological and theoretical struggle of the twenties and thirties. Of course, it is not a question of merely changing all the symbols in the evaluations.

As for the question of victims, none of the figures circulating in the world is reliable. The rehabilitation commission set up under the CPSU Central Committee will present a complete and accurate picture.

The Washington Post: Can we regard the mention of Bukharin in the general secretary's report as signifying his political rehabilitation?

There has recently been a great deal of discussion about N.I. Bukharin, Yu.A. Polyakov noted: Should he be mentioned or not.... M.S. Gorbachev's report gave a profound, dialectical—and very importantly—considered evaluation both of his positive contribution and also of the weaknesses in his political positions on a number of questions and in his character.

The question is absolutely legitimate, G.L. Smirnov confirmed. In a certain sense the report gives an objective, scientific and moral and ethical evaluation of the role and place of N.I. Bukharin. There was no place in it for juridical accusations against him. But as for rehabilitation in the full sense and the accepted interpretation of the word, that will require an additional review of the question and a special CPSU Central Committee decision.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary's report, P.V. Volobuyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, pointed out in his turn, restores the Leninist approach to internal party life. Lenin considered political debates to be natural and quite legitimate and the norm of internal party life—unlike Stalin. But Lenin resolutely opposed the escalation of these debates into factional struggle.

A Belgian journalist asked: Why did the debates on historical topics develop not in scientific publications, but in newspapers and literary and artistic magazines?

You have correctly noticed the way in which the debate on history questions that began in our country more than 2 years ago is proceeding, P.V. Volobuyev replied. One of the reasons is that journalists and writers are faster on their feet. Historians are more conservative and adhere to old schemes. In order to voice our opinions, we need to analyze many documents, and this a long business.

But it is incorrect to say that historians have completely lagged behind, Yu.A. Polyakov retorted. Material on the most burning historical topics appears in the scientific journals. Although there is, of course, some degree of delay in the reaction.

It is best to finish our report with the honest, self-critical admission of O.A. Rzhevskiy, chief of a sector in the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World History: "We must not write in the old way now, it is simply impossible. We must write in a new way. This sets historians very serious tests. We feel indebted to the Soviet people." And let us add to that remark J. Jaures' words that we must take fire, not ashes from history.

News Conference on National Issues

PM021153 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 6

[A. Kuvshinnikov and A. Cherepanov report: "The National Question: Achievements and Problems"]

[Text] In the 7 decades of Soviet power all our country's nations and nationalities have achieved full political equality. But I am by no means claiming that we have not committed very serious mistakes in the national question.

With this statement N. Shishlin, head of the Press Center for the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, began a meeting with journalists at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center on the topic "The CPSU's International Policy." B. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, D. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and R. Nishanov, chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium, took part in it.

The stagnation phenomena of the seventies, and indeed the preceding phase of our development—it was pointed out at the news conference—left us not only with pluses but also with quite bitter minuses. In the latter period we came up against manifestations not only of high socialist patriotism and a genuinely internationalist spirit, but also of nationalism.

The nature of this phenomenon is complex and paradoxical. The growth of national culture, of which we are naturally proud, leads to the growth of national consciousness and the discovery of one's own history. But pride cannot and must not be transformed into national conceit and arrogance....

As may be expected, one of the first questions, asked by an Egyptian journalist, concerned last year's disturbances in Alma-Ata. What were the main lessons drawn from them?

R. Nishanov: I would refrain from the temptation to present them as national disturbances. Aside from nationalist feelings, the stagnation phenomena in the economy and in the development of social life contributed to the manifestation of people's discontent. These were actions by individuals which did not receive mass support. Therefore they both erupted in a flash and died away there and then.

The main question at the press conference was indisputably the following, asked by a Soviet journalist: In the year that restructuring has been actively developing what successes has it achieved and what hurdles has it been unable to clear?

D. Patiashivili: Because of the fact that Georgia suffered terribly as a result of natural disasters, there have been no great changes in the republic over the last year. The weather affected both the economy and the mood. If we had not received aid from all areas of our country the situation would be even more complex, but it is gradually improving. In particular, a new economic mechanism is already in operation, albeit not yet fully matching up to the demands of the CPSU Central Committee and the policy of the 27th party congress, but already giving positive results.

B. Pugo: For the first time in several 5-year plans our economy has malfunctioned this year. State acceptance, which turned many leading enterprises into laggard enterprises, had a very marked effect. A bad thing? But the quality of the goods manufactured sharply improved. It turns out that this is a good thing. In agriculture a record harvest of grain crops was obtained, 30 quintals per hectare. Is this good? But our Belorussian neighbors had 34 quintals and our Scandinavian neighbors even more. Thus there are successes of a kind, but we are not satisfied.

R. Nishanov: It is no secret that for many years there was a sense of formalism in the activity of soviet organs, that they did not use their powers in practice in implementing economic and social policy on their territory. After the question of restructuring was raised, changes in soviet activity occurred considerably more vigorously. Now they act as competent proprietors in their territory. In 13 of the republic's rayons elections to soviet organs were held according to the multicandidate system.

The press conference began with one "obligatory" question and finished with another, no less "obligatory," question—about the manifestations of nationalism recorded this August in Latvia. The attitude of the overwhelming majority of Latvians to the inflammatory actions of emigre centers and the small group of nationalists was laconically expressed by B. Pugo via the Latvian people's saying: "The wind blows from the West but the sun rises in the East."

...I would like to amplify our previous report from the Press Center. Academician V.I. Goldanskiy telephoned the editorial office and added an amendment: If all the world's existing 50,000 nuclear warheads were dismantled, their "innards" would be enough to operate all the earth's nuclear power engineering installations for 2-3 years, and, using new-type reactors, for 20-30 years.

Zagladin Briefs Press on Kremlin Meeting

LD051816 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 5 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—Vadim Zagladin, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, described as a big and singular event the meeting in the Kremlin of representatives of parties and movements taking part in celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

He spoke at a press briefing after the ending of the meeting.

It is the first time that representatives of such diverse parties, organisations and movements—the entire spectrum of the world's left-wing forces representing the new thinking—have gathered together, Vadim Zagladin said.

He singled out the atmosphere of the discussion. The initial wariness rather quickly gave way to an atmosphere of goodwill, he said further. Not only in the hall but also in intermissions between sessions there were constant conversations and contacts were established. Although as individuals the speakers were very different their speeches repeated one and the same themes: Virtually all of them said that it was important to avert nuclear war, that the present epoch has put civilisation in a crisis state and that it was our task to take mankind out of this crisis. It was also noted that nobody possessed a monopoly on ensuring this emergence from the state of crisis, Vadim Zagladin said further.

Critical remarks were also made at the meeting and wishes were expressed. *Pravda* is publishing the speeches made at the meeting and will do so further because we have decided to publish the speeches that were not delivered at the meeting, Zagladin said. But all these remarks were made in a spirit of comradeship, goodwill and frankness. This was pleasant, novel and I think that here we have a certain earnest of the future, Vadim Zagladin concluded. [sentence as received]

'Breakthrough' in Political Thinking

LD042018 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT 4 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—The Kremlin meeting of representatives of parties and movements attending celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was described today as symbolizing a breakthrough in new political thinking.

The view was offered by Vadim Zagladin, first deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee's International Department, and Georgiy Shakhnazarov, first deputy head of a department at the CPSU Central Committee, who were holding a briefing on the results of the first day of the meeting on Wednesday.

They said the main idea of new thinking is that for the sake of preserving life it is vital to learn to cooperate and live together on earth.

They stressed also another idea voiced at the meeting, namely that it is essential to put social, universally shared interests before all others.

The representative nature of the meeting, described by Zagladin as unique, can be seen from the fact that it is being attended by representatives of 178 parties, movements and organizations of most different class and political profiles.

The meeting, it was pointed out at the briefing, has paid much attention to perestroyka or the restructuring drive, in the Soviet Union and its international significance. Zagladin quoted Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, as saying that perestroyka is helping strengthen forces for peace and cooperation and limiting the sphere of operation of confrontation forces. Besides, it is leading to broader accord and interaction between progressive forces with complete respect for the identity and independence of individual parties, movements and organizations.

The meeting in the Kremlin, Zagladin and Shakhnazarov stressed, is not aiming to produce any resolutions: The main thing there is exchanging opinions and the conclusions will be drawn by each party itself.

Further Report

LD041858 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 4 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—"Today's discussion in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses was very interesting. It demonstrated the general understanding of the need to handle major overdue problems facing all of mankind, starting with the problem of ending the nuclear arms race and averting the threat of nuclear war," Vadim Zagladin, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, said here today.

He was speaking in the press centre for the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution at a briefing devoted to the first day of the meeting of representatives of parties and movements attending the revolution anniversary celebrations.

Today, he said, representatives of 178 parties, movements and organizations took part in the meeting. "This is the first meeting of this kind, held in this composition and with such a broad spectrum of representation," he added.

All speakers, Zagladin observed, welcomed the forthcoming conclusion of a Soviet-American INF agreement, and practically all stressed the need for cooperation of all political forces, irrespective of their orientation, class and ideological affiliation to resolve global tasks.

The meeting's participants demonstrated broad approach to problems of the times and displayed signs of new political thinking. All the statements revealed lofty responsibility for the political conduct of their parties, for participation in tackling problems facing mankind, Zagladin said.

Yazov, Military Chiefs Attend Ceremony

PM061255 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Nov 87 Single Edition p 1

[Own correspondent report: "Ceremonial Meeting"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution has been held in the Central Academy Theater of the Soviet Army. Generals, admirals, and officers of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, the Main Inspectorate, the Main Cadre Directorate, and other main and central directorates of the USSR Ministry of Defense participated in it.

In the presidium were Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces; Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Army General M.I. Sorokin and Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense ministers; Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov; Chief Marshal of Artillery V.F. Tolubko; marshals of categories of troops, generals and admirals, servicemen of Moscow Garrison, and veterans of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War. Also in the presidium was Division General R. Acevedo Gonzalez, chief of the Central Political Directorate of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba, who is in transit in our country.

Army General A.D. Lizichev opened the ceremonial meeting.

Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, delivered a report on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Great October, the report pointed out, was the most outstanding event of the 20th century and a crucial event in world history

which ushered in a new epoch of social progress. Restructuring, which has embraced our entire country and all spheres of social life, is determining modern military building and the life and activity of the armed forces. It obliges us to take a new approach to organizing the personnel's combat and political training and to enhance their vigilance and their determination to defend October's gains.

A festive concert of Army and Navy amateur artistic collectives took place after the ceremonial meeting.

Political & Social

Solovyev Visits Smolnyy on Museum Jubilee

PM090859 Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Nov 87 p 1

[TASS correspondent report: "The V.I. Lenin Museum in the Smolnyy Is 60 Years Old"]

[Excerpts] Leningrad, 6 Nov—The headquarters of the revolution—the Smolnyy Palace—has entered history forever; it is the symbol of Great October. Today is the 60th anniversary of the day that the V.I. Lenin Memorial Museum which opened here received its first guests. [passage omitted]

Today, on the anniversary of the opening of the museum in the Smolnyy Palace, Yu. F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Party Obkom, visited the museum.

Solovyev Attends Unveiling of Lenin Monument

LD060043 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 21 Oct 87

[Text] A monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin has been unveiled in the town of Kirovsk, Leningrad Oblast. Comrade Solovyev took part in the ceremony to enveil the monument.

CPSU CC Criticizes Work of Leningrad Raykom

PM061429 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 87 Second Edition pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "In the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee heard a report on the work of Leningrad's Vyborgskiy Raykom.

The resolution which was adopted notes that positive changes have been introduced in the life of Vyborgskiy Rayon's party organization following the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum. The rayon's Communists and working people participate with growing interest and activeness in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and Central Committee plenums and the party's course of restructuring and acceleration. The activity of the CPSU Raykom and many party organizations has acquired businesslike efficiency, democracy, and glasnost. The selection of cadres in the rayon is conducted more openly, and nominations for leadership positions are now discussed in advance among labor collectives and in primary party organizations. Labor collective councils have started operating at 32 enterprises. The struggle to strengthen discipline and to overcome stagnation phenomena has been stepped up. Production and labor productivity growth rates in the rayon's industry have increased by a factor of 1.5 since the start of the 5-year plan period. Targets for savings of raw material, other material, fuel, and energy resources and for profit growth are being met.

At the same time, the raykom has still not managed to properly head the restructuring, often rests satisfied with insignificant advances, and makes inadequate use of the powerful weapon in the struggle for renewal provided by criticism and self-criticism. Some primary party organizations have yet to find their proper position in the solution of new tasks, trail along in the wake of events, and do not show sufficiently strict demandingness toward Communists regarding the actual restructuring of sectors entrusted to them. When dealing with the solution of current economic tasks, the raykom and the party committees and party bureaus in a number of enterprises and scientific and other organizations fail to analyze in depth the processes occurring in life, often stand aside from the struggle between the new and the outdated and from any clashes of positions, and are not sufficiently active in opposing those who obstruct restructuring and retard the process of acceleration. As before, the main efforts of party officials and aktiv members are wasted on drawing up numerous programs and plans for events to the detriment of living work with people.

Consequently, important economic, social, and educational problems are being solved without due persistence and the powerful scientific, production, and intellectual potential created in the rayon is not utilized to the full. Serious failures are occurring in the implementation of the "Intensification-90" Program approved by the CPSU Central Committee. A large proportion of developments by scientific research and planning organizations, which largely determine technological progress in many national economic sectors, fail to meet modern demands. Many enterprises have failed to achieve a sharp turnabout in the direction of boosting production efficiency and output quality. Contractual commitments regarding output deliveries are not fulfilled. The Karl Marx, "Krasnaya Zarya," "Russkiy Dizel," and a number of other enterprises are not taking decisive steps to ensure that the articles they manufacture are competitive in the world market. About 1,000 workers are recruited every year from outside the city to perform labor-intensive operations. Because of inadequate preparation, the switching of enterprises to two- and three-shift working is not producing the expected results everywhere. The shift index of metalworking equipment stands at just 1.21, while machine tools with digital program control and processing centers in some enterprises are actually utilized for only one shift.

The raykom tolerates the fact that the rayispolkom, many economic leaders, and party and public organizations have still not given priority in their work to questions concerning the social sphere's development. The majority of enterprises have still not determined how and when they will resolve the task of ensuring that

every family has its own separate apartment, and the own-resources method of construction has not been developed. Schools in the rayon are overcrowded, there is a shortage of stores and of public catering and consumer services enterprises, and medical services are the cause of many complaints. There is no proper support for cooperative and individual forms of labor activity.

The CPSU Central Committee regards as a fundamental shortcoming in the raykom's work the fact that it is insufficiently concerned with the improvement of internal party life and the enhancement of the militancy and prestige of primary party organizations, and that it bypasses these organizations when examining numerous important questions, including misdemeanors by Communists in leadership positions. The opinion of economic leaders alone is often decisive for the raykom in the selection of party committee and bureau secretaries. Admission to the party takes place without considering the need to step up party influence in individual sectors, and frequently also without proper exactingness. Some party members lack fighting qualities and act as detached observers of negative phenomena and instances of bureaucratism and irresponsibility.

Despite the fact that the rayon party organization has a great cadre potential, people who cannot cope with the new tasks remain in leadership positions. The raykom fails to take active measures to promptly replace such leaders and to discover and promote promising workers. It has failed to organize the training of the party aktiv in the art of political work and is insufficiently active in disseminating the positive experience accumulated by party organizations in Leningrad and elsewhere in the country.

In ideological activity the raykom lacks purposefulness, an analytical approach, and the ability to combine mass events and work with specific people, influence their beliefs, and take into account the specific features of various categories of the population. In-house newspapers do not display due sharpness and principledness in developing criticism and poorly organize the collectives' work in the new conditions. The party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and law enforcement organs have failed to ensure the decisive stepping up of the struggle against drunkenness, hooliganism, embezzlement of socialist property, the consumerist mentality, and petty bourgeois attitudes.

The Leningrad CPSU Obkom and Gorkom are not sufficiently profound in analyzing and directing the activity of the rayon party organization.

The CPSU Central Committee instructed the Vyborgskiy Raykom, guided by the decisions of the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee January and June (1987) Plenums, to conduct restructuring more decisively and more energetically and to seek real changes in all avenues of restructuring. It must persistently master new ways and methods of work based on broad democratization of social and internal party life and on constantly taking into account people's opinions and suggestions. It must affirm everywhere an atmosphere of creative quest and high exactingness. Now, at the new and exceptionally crucial stage of restructuring, it is particularly important to augment work in every link and at all levels, to boost militancy, assertiveness, and intolerance of shortcomings, and to decisively aim for changes for the better.

The resolution points out that the most important task of the CPSU Raykom as an organ of political leadership is to persistently enhance the role of primary party organizations and, relying on them, to focus daily work on the labor collectives. Party organizations are called upon to act boldly and with initiative, to firmly guard state interests, to strengthen discipline and organization, and to persistently struggle against bureaucratism, leveling, and manifestations of parochialism and departmentalism. It is necessary to ensure consistent implementation of the provisions of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the principles of socialist self-management. Thorough attention must be given to the organization of the work of labor collective councils.

It is necessary to improve the selection of new party members and the education of Communists and to ensure their correct placement in the most important sectors. There must be a resolute eradication of instances of a liberal attitude toward those who have besmirched the honest and pure title of party member, commit gross violations of the norms of socialist morality, and behave in a freeloading fashion.

It is necessary to boost in every way the authority of primary and shop party organization secretaries and party group organizers, nominating the most principled Communists for these positions. It is necessary to organize their specific tuition and systematic instruction and to arm them with experience of work in the new conditions.

The CPSU Central Committee emphasized the particular responsibility of the raykom and of primary party organizations for the introduction of the new economic mechanism and full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, and for the production and social development of labor collectives. It is necessary to ensure the all-around preparation and organized transition of enterprises to new conditions of work. When evaluating the activity of enterprises or organizing socialist competition, attention must be paid mainly to the steady fulfillment of plans for output sales taking contractual and delivery commitments into account, the efficient utilization of funds, the creation of the latest technology, and the fundamental improvement of output quality. Monitoring of the assimilation of resource-saving technologies, the progress of reconstruction and modernization of production, and the introduction of state acceptance must be stepped up.

The raykom was instructed to be more demanding of leaders of soviet, economic, and trade union organizations as regards the solution of the entire package of questions affecting people's daily life and their working and living conditions, pooling for this purpose the efforts of all enterprises and organizations. Specific schedules and ways must be determined jointly with the Leningrad Gorispolkom for the implementation of the task set by the 27th CPSU Congress—to ensure a separate apartment for every family—and other social problems: the expansion of the network of preschool institutions, the development of public education, health care services, trade, public catering, consumer services, and urban transport, and the strengthening of the material base for cultural enlightenment and mass sports work.

It is necessary to ensure the further deepening of democratism in the work of the [Rayon] Soviet of People's Deputies and enhancement of the effectiveness of the work of sessions and permanent commissions and of reports by deputies to the voters. There must be strict monitoring of the implementation of mandates, proposals, and suggestions made by working people in the course of elections for local soviets.

The CPSU Central Committee emphasized that the raykom and the party committees and bureaus must establish firm links between ideological work and the practical solution of pressing socioeconomic tasks. Every individual must be made aware of the meaning and importance of the measures being implemented by the party for the renewal of Soviet society's life. It is necessary to organize the in-depth study of fundamental questions of economic reform by leadership cadres and all working people. Persistence must be shown in ensuring that every leader perceives propaganda of the party's ideas and decisions and permanent contacts with the masses as his most important work. People must be educated in a spirit of lofty civic duty, initiative and businesslike efficiency, principledness, and intolerance of immoral behavior, the prestige of high-quality labor must be enhanced, and any attempt to denigrate the achievements of the Land of the Soviets and the heroic labor of entire generations of Soviet people must be resolutely rebuffed. Greater efforts must be made in the struggle against drunkenness, for sobriety, and against drug addiction. In-house newspapers, wall newspapers, and local radio broadcasting must be used more actively as tribunes of restructuring.

Objective assistance must be given to party and Komsomol organizations in improving the education of young people and developing their production and social activeness. The work on restructuring higher and secondary education must be stepped up.

The party raykom and primary party organizations, in line with the demands of the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum, must resolutely improve their work with cadres. There must be constant concern for the creation of a reliable pool of cadres, the professional, ideological, and political growth of workers, and their mastery of new economic thinking. Promotion to leadership position should be given to those capable of conducting matters at the level of contemporary demands. It is necessary to proceed from the premise that the decisive criterion in the evaluation of cadres must be their attitude toward restructuring and their real contribution to the struggle for the implementation of its tasks. Certification, reports, discussions, criticism, and self-criticism must be used everywhere for the purpose of educating cadres and overcoming stagnation and complacency, and any deviation by Communists in leadership positions from the party statute must be investigated primarily in primary party organizations.

In the conditions of expanding democracy and glasnost-,members of the CPSU Raykom and its bureau, its secretaries, and its apparatus officials must persistently master the methods of political leadership, must constantly consult with Communists, must strengthen ties with working people, must be familiar with their moods and needs, and must prevent instances of incompetent interference in production affairs. Lively daily work in primary and shop party organizations and party groups and skill in rallying Communists and implementing adopted decisions constitute the main feature of the activity of every party official. It is necessary to enhance the role of raykom instructors in training the grassroots party aktiv and giving it effective assistance. Voluntary work principles must be more broadly developed in the rayon party organization's activity, and better use must be made of the rich experience of party veterans. More attention must be paid to the organizations of war and labor veterans, women's councils, and other social formations.

The CPSU Central Committee ordered the Leningrad Obkom and Gorkom to give Vyborgskiy Raykom the necessary assistance to improve its style and methods of work and deepen restructuring within the rayon party organization. The Leningrad Gorispolkom was instructed to seek out reserves for the accelerated development of Vyborgskiy Rayon's social infrastructure and the elimination of existing imbalances.

Moscow Gorkom Hits Economic, Social Ills

PM091325 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 87 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "In the Moscow CPSU Gorkom"]

[Excerpts] At the 28 October session of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau, the speeches by Gorkom First Secretary B.N. Yeltsin and Bureau members dealt with the progress of preparations by the city and the capital's labor collectives for celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It was emphasized that preparations for the jubilee have been an important factor in boosting the labor, political, and spiritual activeness of Communists and nonparty people and all Muscovites.

The session examined the results of work by the city's economic sectors in the first 9 months of this year. Data from the Moscow City Committee for Statistics will be published by *Moskovskaya Pravda*. [passage omitted]

It was noted at the session that, in parallel with the positive results of work, there are still serious shortcomings which have a negative effect on the development of the city as a whole.

The plan for industrial output sales taking contract deliveries into account was fulfilled 99.2%. Some 39 industrial enterprises located in 18 of the city's rayons failed to cope with it.

Many rayons work erratically and obstruct the fulfillment of plan targets and pledges regarding labor productivity growth, manufacture of top quality output, commissioning of projects, savings of material, labor, and financial resources, and goods turnover. There are loss-making industrial and construction organizations. This is a serious shortcoming in the work of economic leaders and party committees and bureaus in preparing for transition to the new conditions of economic management.

Leninskiy, Tushinskiy, Baumanskiy, Krasnopresnenskiy, Kuntsevskiy, and Kuybyshevskiy Rayons, and Moskvoretskiy Rayon in particular, failed to fulfill their pledges in terms of many indicators.

Only five of the city's rayons—Volgogradskiy, Kirovskiy, Krasnogvardeyskiy, Sverdlovskiy, and Solntsevskiy—met the socialist competition terms in full. [passage omitted]

The results of socialist competition among collectives of construction industry organizations and enterprises in the construction materials industry, and among the Moscow Gorispolkom's maintenance and construction organizations, in the third quarter of 1987 were also examined. [passage omitted]

It was noted at the session that, in parallel with the overall fulfillment of basic technical and economic indicators, lagging was allowed to build up by some maintenance and construction organizations under the Moscow Gorispolkom's Main Administration for Maintenance Services and Enterprises, Main Administration of Housing Stock, Main Administration for the Construction Materials Industry and Construction Components, and Main Administration for Trade. [passage omitted]

The Moscow Gorkom Bureau ordered party raykoms, rayispolkoms, party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and economic leaders of the Moscow Gorispolkom's main administrations and administrations to analyze the result of work by maintenance and construction subdivisions during the third quarter of 1987 and to take measures to eliminate shortcomings in the work to fulfill plan targets and socialist pledges for the current year.

The Moscow Gorkom Bureau also examined the results of socialist competition among Moscow's rayons for the best urban development work during the second and third quarters of 1987. [passage omitted]

Many of the city's rayons failed to cope with fulfillment of the technical and economic indicators of the socialist competition for the best urban development work. Significant lagging in the maintenance of housing stock was allowed to build up in Zheleznodorozhniy, Leninskiy, and Frunzenskiy Rayons. Dzerzhinskiy, Voroshilovskiy, Lyublinskiy, and Sevastopolskiy Rayons failed to fulfill their road surface maintenance plans. The work done in Proletarskiy, Sovetskiy, and Sokolnicheskiy Rayons on the greening of their territories was unsatisfactory. [passage omitted]

The session examined and gave basic approval to the draft plan for Moscow's comprehensive economic and social development and the city's budget for 1988.

It was noted that the drafts are in line with the 5-year plan for Moscow's comprehensive economic and social development. Priority will be given next year to the social sphere sectors. The drawing up of the draft plan and budget was done on a broad democratic basis, with broad participation by labor collectives and the city's public in discussion of the targets planned for 1988.

The Moscow Gorispolkom was ordered, jointly with party raykoms and rayispolkoms, to finalize work on the draft plan and budget taking into account the comments made at the Moscow Gorkom Bureau session and to submit them for examination by a session of the Moscow City Soviet.

The Moscow Gorkom Bureau examined the question of Baumanskiy Raykom's work on the fulfillment of CPSU Central Committee resolutions on the eradication of drunkenness and alcoholism and the stepping up of this work.

It was noted that there has been no stepping up of the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism in the rayon.

Drunkenness remains a widespread phenomenon. This year there has been a fourfold increase of the number of people found in an unsober state in production work. There are cases of drunkenness among CPSU members and leadership cadres. The struggle against drunkenness in the residential sector is being conducted sluggishly and without initiative.

These shortcomings are the consequence of inadequate organizational and educational work by the raykom and the slackening of demandingness toward primary party organizations and Communists in leadership positions. Many party committees and bureaus and party aktiv members have lost the sense of urgency in evaluating drunkenness as a social evil and do not believe that its eradication is possible.

Raykom First Secretary Comrade Nikolayev failed to ensure the purposeful work by members of the raykom, its Bureau, and the raykom apparatus for the practical implementation of tasks set by the party, is not sufficiently familiar with the situation, and is inclined to exaggerate the results that have been achieved.

The Moscow Gorkom Bureau reprimanded Baumanskiy Raykom First Secretary Comrade Nikolayev for failing to ensure the fulfillment of CPSU Central Committee resolutions on the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism, insufficient demandingness toward party organizations for the stepping up of this work, and lack of self-critical approach.

Baumanskiy Raykom was ordered to examine the question of party responsibility by the rayon's Communists in leadership positions who have displayed a passive and irresponsible attitude to the question of eradicating drunkenness and alcoholism.

The Gorkom Bureau session also examined several other questions.

Personnel Changes in Government Bodies Noted

PM090915 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Sobraniye Postanovleniy Pravitelstva SSSR* in Russian No 40 1987 carries on pages 868 through 871 four USSR Council of Ministers decrees, all signed by Council of Ministers Chairman Ryzhkov and Administrator of Affairs Smirtyukov. The first decree, dated 1 June 1987, relieves "Comrade L.Ye. Mikhaylov of his duties as first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Forestry in connection with his retirement." The second, dated 4 June 1987, relieves "Comrade B.M. Belousov of his duties as USSR first deputy minister of the defense industry in connection with his reassignment." The third, dated 19 June 1987, appoints "Comrade Ye.G. Rozanov chairman of the USSR Gosstroy State Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture and deputy chairman of the USSR Gosstroy." The fourth decree, dated 20 June 1987, relieves "Comrade V.G. Kirillov-Ugryumov of his duties as chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Higher Certification Commission in connection with his retirement."

Tatars Warned Not To Demonstrate During GOSR

PM091507 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 30 Oct 87 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Conversation With Group of Persons Among Crimean Tatars"]

[Text] On 26 October A. Ablayev, F. Ablyamitov, M. Dzhemilev,R. Dzhemilev, N. Kadyrov, Sh. Kaybullayev, I. Suleymanov, E. Fazylov, I. Khairov, and A. Khamzin, residents of Tashkent and Tashkent Oblast who call themselves an "initiative group," were summoned to the republic Prosecutor's Office. On the eve of the nationwide holiday—the 70th anniversary of Great October—the impermissibility of violations of the prescribed order in organizing and holding mass events was again explained to these persons.

During the conversation Uzbek SSR Prosecutor A.V. Buturlin and republic Minister of Internal Affairs U.S. Rakhimov answered a number of questions. The leaders of the republic's law enforcement organs emphasized that these organs are ready to resolutely suppress any violations of law and order linked with nationalist manifestations and wrongful actions on the part of persons among the Crimean Tatars.

In the conditions of the broad and free clarification of opinions attempts by certain individuals or groupings to portray their own nationalist views as the will of all Soviet citizens among Crimean Tatars, to counterpose them to the work of the state commission, and to stage events that violate general established order are by no means conducive to the quest for the optimum positive solutions. On the contrary, they undermine trust, create tension, and inflame passions. This is particularly intolerable during a great holiday for Soviet people—the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which ended social and national oppression and ensured the triumph of the ideas of friendship and fraternity among all the peoples of our socialist homeland.

The leaders of law enforcement organs warned the persons summoned for the discussion that law enforcement organs have been vested with additional powers with a view to ensuring law and order during the holiday period.

F. Ablyamitov, I. Khairov, A. Khamzin, and others gave assurances that for their part they will do nothing to violate public order.

Publication of Figures' Pictures Urged

PM090949 Moscow TRUD in Russian 31 Oct 87 p 2

[Letter from reader B. Klyuyev under the rubric "Viewpoint": "They Should Not Be Forgotten"]

[Text] Moscow—I am writing while still under the impression of the film "Empowered by the Revolution" shown recently on television. I do not intend to assess its artistic merits or shortcomings; I am writing about another aspect.

...I said to my son: "Doesn't that actor look like Kuybyshev!" He replied: "How should I know? I have never seen his portrait." This is indeed the case, so how could he know about this prominent figure in the Communist

Party and the Soviet state? People of 20-25 years of age do not know what N.S. Khrushchev, N.M. Shvernik, or A.I. Mikoyan looked like or what to say about people like V.A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, A.S. Bubnov, N.V. Krylenko, S.V. Kosior, P.P. Postyshev, V.Ya. Chubar, A.V. Kosarev, or N.A. Voznesenskiy....

Portraits of movie artistes, popular sportsmen, and variety singers are there for the asking in every city, at any newspaper stand, amateur photographs and plaster busts of I.V. Stalin are available in Georgia, but where, in which publications, in which book stores can you find portraits of Bolsheviks of whose names the people are proud? Yes, many of them were repressed and erased from our history for a long time. But today we are quite rightly saying that there must be no "black holes" in our history and so we must, I am sure, produce a series of postcards, posters, and short biographies of the political figures who made brilliant contributions to the history of our country.

The phrase "the country must know its heroes" has become popular and I consider it to have great political significance. Today's generation must know those who built our new life.

Editorial Discusses Revolution, Restructuring

PM091239 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Loyalty to the Revolution's Banner"]

[Text] The festive chime of the Kremlin carillon sails over the Land of the Soviets. Today its simple tune elicits a special response from people's hearts: The clock has started counting off the 8th decade of the new era of social progress, of mankind's true history.

Seven decades separate us from the legendary days of October 1917. Seven decades are just an instant in the centuries-long ascent of world civilization, but what has been done over this time is on such a grand scale! We are proud of what has been accomplished, we are rightfully proud, said the participants in the ceremonial Kremlin session devoted to Great October's 70th anniversary. A backward country, more than three-fourths of whose population was illiterate, has become a modern state. Instead of poverty and downtroddenness—prosperity in working people's homes and one of the world's highest standards of education of the masses. Socialism has delivered our motherland from the ills and calamities which still poison the life of many peoples. We do not have exploitation of man by man. There is no unemployment. There is no national oppression. The 283 million Soviet people live under conditions of sound social protection, with confidence in tomorrow.

With good reason we are also proud that our revolution, labor, and struggle have had and are continuing to have a very profound impact on all aspects of world development—politics and economics, the social sphere, and the consciousness of our contemporaries. The world's present sociopolitical aspect is the natural result of the historical process begun by October. This was repeatedly pointed out at the Moscow meeting of the party and movement representatives who have come to celebrate Great October's 70th anniversary.

V.I. Lenin directed our first steps in socialist building. His activity constantly reminds us of the Communists' lofty duty—to be always at the sharp end of events, know how to make bold decisions, and assume complete responsibility for the present and the future. The Leninist example of a creative approach to Marxism-Leninism and of brilliant command of revolutionary dialectics is unusually topical today. Loyalty to Leninism is the immutable law of the CPSU's theoretical and practical activity.

The path of pioneers, which our society is traveling, requires everyone to make every effort in the name of the triumph of October's ideas and aims. History is not nameless. History is made by people who are audaciously bold and circumspect, with ardent hearts and a sober mind, by people of action and people of thought. The Leninist revolutionaries and all who made a contribution to the socialist gains live in the grateful memory of the generations. Our admiration for the achievements of the enthusiasts of the first 5-year plans, the creators of mighty industry, the builders of collective agriculture, and the creators of socialist culture will not die. It is our duty and the duty of those who will come after us to remember the exploit of our grandfathers and fathers. The memory of what we have lived through is indelible, for all that has created the present day.

Looking back at the path traveled, we think of the complex and ambiguous way in which our deeds and destinies have sometimes taken shape. We did not easily come by the historical experience which today helps us to confidently mobilize the potential of socialism for the revolutionary transformation of life. Its aim is fully to restore theoretically and practically the Leninist concept of socialism, which gives unquestionable priority to the working person with his ideals and interests and to humanist values in the economy, in social and political relations, and in culture.

The principle of reliance on the broad masses and the close link with them was and still is the most important principle of the party's creative work. The task of today's restructuring, its compulsory condition, and the guarantee of its success is to awaken the person's creative abilities and make him the really active and interested master of his enterprise or establishment and the master of his country. The human factor is our chief reserve. Everyone must be imbued with understanding of the acuteness of the moment being lived through, of its crucial nature.

Continuing the October cause, restructuring has demanded the further deepening and development of socialist democracy. The party has put the question like this: The democratization of society is the strongest guarantee of transformations in politics and economics, ruling out any backward movement. It is with considerable difficulties and contradictions that we are taking what are probably the biggest steps since October along the path of developing socialist democratism. But this process is irreversible. According to the party's plans, the soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations are obliged to develop in people a taste for independence and responsibility in production and social affairs and to support their initiative.

We need the culture of democracy in all spheres of human relations. Socialism is a society of growing diversity in people's views, relations, and activity. The party advocates diversity of public opinion and wealth of spiritual life. The most important task is to elevate the person spiritually, respecting his inner world and strengthening his moral positions.

The foundations for an accelerated advance are being created by fundamental transformations in the economy. The radical economic reform being conducted in the country is sharply widening the independence of enterprises. Genuine democracy will be asserted increasingly strongly in the national economy: The working person and the labor collective themselves create wealth and diverse things of value and themselves control them and distribute them. The national economy is to be switched to the path of intensification. It is a tremendously difficult task, but we are sure we will cope. From time immemorial our land has been renowned for its masters. Their hands have inscribed many impressive achievements in the history of the Land of the Soviets. Today this is all the more within our power.

Restructuring is underpinned by our 70-year history, by the sound foundation of the fundamentally new social edifice built in the USSR. It unites continuity and innovation and the historical experience of Bolshevism with the contemporaneity of socialism. All our thoughts and achievements have been and are inspired by the life-giving force of communist ideas. Inscribed on the revolution's banner, they have raised millions to struggle and to labor achievements.

The Soviet people's tested vanguard—the Leninist party—has been marching at their head for 70 years of socialist building. The party and the revolution, the party and October are inseparable. Under the new conditions too the party is at the head of the revolutionary renewal, is persistently and consistently enhancing the effectiveness of its policy, and is developing democratization in all areas and at all levels of social life. Today, too, the party is judged by the actions of Communists. Today, too, the cause of restructuring depends on the potential of party influence and party impact on it.

Entering the 8th decade of the October Revolution, we remember: The fate of its great cause, the great Leninist cause, is in our hands. We are once again taking an untried path. This places a special responsibility on the party and on all Soviet people. Responsibility not only for what is happening at home, within the country, but also for the future of the whole planet. "It is our duty," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, "to preserve our unique civilization and life itself on earth, to secure the triumph of reason over nuclear insanity, and to create all conditions for the free and all-around development of man and humanity."

We have gotten irrevocably away from the old world. We are marching toward the new world—the world of communism. We will never turn from this path!

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Retires Geology Minister

PM061723 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Nov 87 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Comrade Lev Ivanovich Rovnin of his post of RSFSR minister of geology in connection with his retirement on a pension due to his state of health.

Turkmenistan Ministers Meet With Public

LD091214 Moscow TASS in English 1122 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Text] Ashkhabad November 9 TASS—TASS Correspondent Natalya Charukhcheva reports:

The population in Turkmenia (Soviet Central Asia) will now have an opportunity to consult republican ministers without waiting for appointments under a series of meetings to be organised under the newly-launched "Minister's Tribune" project. The first such meeting has been held with the social security minister.

The hall was overcrowded and the interest of people was great. The possibility of an open discussion of the existing problems, of asking any questions and of telling the minister directly about the shortcomings in the work of institutions under his supervision attracted a large audience.

"Today, we need to speak honestly about difficulties and contradictions of our life", Annamurad Khodzhamuradov, chairman of Turkemnia's Council of Ministers, said, commenting on the new undertaking.

"People are learning in practice to use their democratic right and participate in the affairs of the production, state and society. Heads of ministries and agencies gain first hand information about the needs of the people and the industry's problems. Such meetings help eradicate red-tape and dissuade leading officials from giving

empty promises. The first meeting will be followed by another at which the social security minister will have to report to the people about what he has done."

"The Minister's Tribune" project will also include meetings with the public health and municipal economy ministers, as well as mayors of Turkmenian cities.

Kolbin Comments on Housing in Kazakhstan

LD082129 Moscow TASS in English 1402 GMT 8 Nov 87

[Text] Alma-Ata November 8 TASS—All people in Kazakhstan who have been given new flats this year could make up a town with a population of nearly 500,000, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan said.

Gennadiy Kolbin gave an interview to TASS in connection with the implementation of the 1987 housing program in the republic by the 70th anniversary of the October revolution.

"Such propaganda of perestroyka with practical deeds is the most convincing", he said.

The rates of housing construction in this Asian republic are among the highest in the Soviet Union. It will build another 1,200,000 square meters of well-appointed flats for 50,000 people before the end of the year.

Kazakhstan has made the first step in implementing a large-scale program, Housing-91. Its goal is to ensure all of more than 750,000 families that were on the housing list as of January 1, this year, with well-appointed flats within five years, thus cutting by half the time envisaged for it by earlier plans.

In Kolbin's opinion, glasnost (openness) has an important role to play in solving the housing problem.

"For years, numerous facts of violations of social justice in flat distribution and the utterly slow advance up the housing list, despite pompous statements about millions of square meters of housing built, gave rise to people's disappointment and made them lose faith in the possibility of radical changes," he said.

"Although we are only on the first wave of perestroyka, the fresh wind of change has revived faith among masses of working people in the real possibility of overcoming difficulties", Kolbin noted.

Birthday of Soviet Scientist Marked

LD091325 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Excerpts] This month is the 100th anniversary of the birth of Nikolay Ivanovich Vavilov, the outstanding Soviet scientist. He founded the modern basis for plant selection. Vavilov is one of the founders of genetics. [passage omitted] Nikolay Vavilov was devoted to science—true science—and did not go back on his principles. He perished in the years of Stalin's personality cult. [passage omitted: list of books published for the anniversary, including Vavilov's own work on plant collection expeditions]

TASS Chronicles Successes of Song Writer

LD080023 Moscow TASS in English 1049 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—One of the State Prizes of the USSR for 1987 has been awarded to well-known Soviet actor, singer and poet Vladimir Vysotskiy (1938-80).

A comsummately gifted man, he won nationwide recognition long before the official one.

His fans believe that the State Prize, conferred on Vysotskiy for his having played the part of a captain from a criminal investigation department in the mini-series "Meeting Place May Not Be Changed" and sung own songs in other films, is a way of restoring a fair attitude to that very talented man.

All in all, Vysotskiy took part in 30 movies, playing leads in 14 of them. Those included such obviously different characters as Don Juan in the TV version of Aleksandr Pushkin's "Little Tragedies", an intrepid revolutionary in "The Intervention" and a geologist in the psychological drama "Brief encounters".

The immense popularity of Vysotskiy the balladeer, both in his lifetime and after his death, can be envied by any singer and composer. Tape recordings of his songs can be found in virtually every household. Discs with his songs sell out in an instant.

The Moscow-based Melodiya label has launched a series of at least 15 Vysotskiy records and the first two discs are already out.

In his ballads the author/singer depicted tragic and heroic episodes of the Second World War with tremendous emotional power. In other courageously truthful songs he exposed deception, spiritual apathy and corruption and taught integrity and good.

A collection of his verses called "Nerve", which has been brought out after his death, has prompted reviews hailing him as a brilliant poet. Two more books of his poetry are about to be issued in Koscow.

Vysotskiy's talent showed in tull measure at Moscow's Taganka Theater where he played leading roles from 1964.

Playwright Mikhail Shatrov Interviewed

PM091031 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 31 Oct 87 Zaterdags Bijvo supplement pp 1,7

[Interview with Soviet playwright Mikhail Shatrov by Laura Starink: "On... On... And On!"]

[Text] A golden fall day in the writers' village of Peredelkino. Boris Pasternak's dacha lies hidden in an overgrown yellow garden. The wooden house where he lived and died is empty. On the open gate there is a sign; there is going to be a museum here. To everyone's annoyance it has already been hanging there a long time.

In a dacha further along, on the first floor of a bright blue house, lives Mikhail Shatrov, who was born in Moscow in 1932 as Mikhail Marshak. Shatrov writes plays and they are all about recent history. His third play, "In the Name of the Revolution," was described as the best play in honor of the 40th anniversary of the revolution. "The Sixth of July" (1964) is about the defeat of the rebellion of the socialist revolutionaries in 1918, "The Bolsheviks" (1968) about the attempt on Lenin's life. His last two plays have raised a lot of dust in Moscow. "The Dictatorship of Conscience," which was not allowed to be played for a whole year, asked the fundamental question of where are the guarantees against the degeneration of the revolution. "The Brest Peace" brings to the stage for the first time ignored [doodgezwegen] historical figures such as Trotskiy, Kamenev, and Bukharin and shows the vehement differences inside the political leadership over the humiliating peace treaty with Germany dating from March 1918.

Shatrov has just put the finishing touches to a play with the very symbolic title of "On... On... And On!" Its action takes place on the eve of the revolution and wanders through the important dates in Soviet history. The whole of the then political spectrum appears to be represented in the play: the Bolsheviks, Plekhanov and Martov for the Mensheviks, Prime Minister Kerenskiy of the interim government, and, on the right, the Liberal Petr Struve, General Kornilov, and the White Guard General Denikin. According to weekly *Moscow News* the play was originally to have its premiere 6 November, but the premiere has been postponed until December, according to Shatrov because of shortage of time. Six typed versions of the text stared the reporter in the eye from the desk when we sat down for our conversation.

Mikhail Shatrov: "The history of the October Revolution is still set out here in the Stalinist version, which does not deviate much from Stalin's pseudohistory "Short Course of the Communist Party" [title as published]. Lenin's role, the differences within the Central Committee, the position of the other parties are all twisted to favor Stalin's person. Stalin invented the version of the two leaders of the October Revolution: Lenin and Stalin. On 7 November 1918 he wrote that Trotskiy had played a great role during the revolutionary events, in 1924 that he was not involved at all, and in 1938 he himself suddenly seemed to have played the main role. The people who were wiped out [vernietigd] by Stalin could not even be mentioned for a long time, and thus their achievements had to be hushed up or attributed to someone else. There is no genuine history of the October Revolution here, for what the textbooks report is not worth the name.

[Starink] What do you think of the new encyclopedia of the October Revolution?

[Shatrov] If it had appeared 18 months ago I would have viewed it as a great step forward. But today that book cannot satisfy anybody. It contains a number of new articles, about Trotskiy, Bukharin, Rykov, but it is completely impossible to make out from them why these people played such an important role during the Revolution. They are depicted as apostates who only made mistakes. That is a great pity. I am ashamed of that book. It is a remnant of the Stalinist concept of history. Stalin distorted history into an ideological pedestal for his own statue.

[Starink] But how did people work in the field of history in those years?

[Shatrov] That wasn't history, it was prostitution. People knew exactly what had happened, but wrote something completely different. But the truth cannot be destroyed. I would like to stress that this development was not contained preprogramed in the bosom of the revolution. There were other possible variations and and we must carefully investigate why of these thousand variations just this one came into being. The question is what political and moral lesson we must learn from this.

[Starink] In "The Dictatorship of Conscience" you have one of the characters ask the question: "Capitalism exists by the grace of the knout—and communism? By the grace of a portrait!" (of Stalin—LS). How would you yourself answer this question?

[Shatrov] We do not need a slave psychology. The aim of the revolution was to make the people their own boss. That has never been realized. Although much has been achieved, it has in the end decayed into discipline based on fear. Gorbachev is now using the slogan: More democracy, more socialism. That is correct: There is only as much socialism as there is democracy.

[Starink] Capitalism represses people, the Soviet Union says, but now it is being admitted that here too people are being repressed. Where then is the difference?

[Shatrov] You must not compare these two things, for as I have already said, we have not succeeded in realizing what we wanted. I am convinced that there were alternatives. I have seen an enormous pile of letters to Lenin from people who in the twenties wanted to come to the Soviet Union to help to build socialism. Only later did people begin to move away from us. That makes one

think. But at the present moment the number of emigrants is decreasing, because hope has been rekindled. Of course in material terms we cannot stand comparison with the West. But if we appear to be able to create a different atmosphere, in which a human being again feels like a human being, then even a deterioration in material circumstances is acceptable.

[Starink] But where are the guarantees against something like Stalin's terror?

[Shatrov] For me they are to be found in democracy. Everyone must say what he thinks. At the present moment we are going through a very critical phase, in which we are trying to return to the ideals which were proclaimed 70 years ago. If we succeed, that will be a revolution. But although a lot has happened in 2 years, we are only at the very beginning. We have begun with ideology, but now it is the turn of the base, the economy, and many people don't like it. The interests of bureaucracy are at risk and and they affect many people. Some 20 million officials and their families—that is 60 million people, an enormous army.

[Starink] How will you fight against it?

[Shatrov] You have to break their power. A revolution knows no other possibility: the scrapping of the old state machine, for it is an illusion to think that we can get anywhere with this machine. You must fire them, deprive them of their power and privileges, you have to reform the economy in such a way that it is no longer attractive to them.

[Starink] In "The Dictatorship of Conscience" you have someone say: We must not transform Lenin into an icon. Is it still possible to write objectively about Lenin?

[Shatrov] There is still so much to write about Lenin. Everyone is now asking whether Lenin made mistakes. I find that a bourgeois question. Of course Lenin made mistakes and he admitted it himself. But it is more important to establish where he wanted to get to and using what methods. That is what is important, because the slogan that "the ends justify the means" is a typically Jesuit principle.

[Starink] In March 1918 the Soviet Government made a very humiliating peace with Germany in which a large part of Poland, the Baltic countries, the Ukraine, and Finland were ceded to the Germans. There was heavy fighting within the Soviet leadership about this. That is what your play "The Brest Peace" is about. Your play defended Lenin's decision, but isn't it more a question of pure chance? His hopes of a world revolution were not fulfilled, but just assume that the Germans had not capitulated. Then their decision would be in the history books now as a cardinal political mistake.

[Shatrov] Lenin argued as follows: Demands are made that we give up territory. We cannot fight because the army is deserting en masse. The peasants have still not been given their land, so why should they fight? If we continue the war, we will be doing exactly the same as our predecessors did. The February Revolution had three slogans: Peace, bread, and freedom. But if there is no peace and no bread, freedom is a fiction. Under these circumstances Lenin chose a compromise. The alternative was death. That is also the case today: We have to disarm. There is no alternative. That is why Gorbachev talks of the 'New Thinking.'

[Starink] Yes, but we are not now living in a state of war.

[Shatrov] No, but what is more important: Keeping our arms and leaving the stores in the nightmare state in which they are at the present, or using the billions we spend on the idiotic missiles to reform the economy? "The Brest Peace" is about reaching compromises and that is why it is a play about today. Lenin was right. True, the world revolution has not broken out, all these illusions have flown, but tactically speaking it was a victory.

[Starink] Can you admit the thought that Lenin made political mistakes?

[Shatrov] Naturally. His whole attempt to introduce socialism using the heavyhanded methods of war communism was a political mistake. When the Kronstadt sailors rebelled in 1921 and 80% of the peasant population began to protest, he admitted that he had been mistaken. That is why I think Lenin was a genius, because he was able to recognize his mistakes. And here I am referring primarily to the Lenin of 1921 and 1922.

[Starink] Nevertheless, in 1922 he did organize a show trial against his political opponents, the Socialist Revolutionaries.

[Shatrov] Listen, if the Bolsheviks had banned all parties and the press directly after coming to power... But that was not how things went. There were armed uprisings. I would just like to see how a Western country would react if armed struggle were suddenly to break out against the government. The Mensheviks were banned because they took an active part in the risings, which began throughout the country in the summer of 1918.

[Starink] The Bolsheviks themselves were the first to take part in armed risings. So they were not opposed to armed rebellion?

[Shatrov] The Revolution passed off practically without bloodshed. If you are referring to the possible political alternatives, that is what my new play is about. There will have to be discussions about this. But under no circumstances must we turn Lenin into an infallible Roman Pope.

[Starink] Don't take what I have to say amiss, but it was after all Lenin who had banned the other parties and broke up the legislative assembly.

[Shatrov] In answer to your question I will read from my new play a discussion between the Liberal, Petr Struve, and Socialist Revolutionary Maria Spiridonova.

Struve: "Do you believe yourself, Ulyanov, in what you are saying? Do you believe in the revolution, while you are preparing its self-negation? You promise the people democracy, although you know very well that you will reshape the dictatorship of the proletariat into a power monopoly for one party. You will break up all the others. You will ban the press, you will unleash terror, and put everyone who holds a different view against the wall."

Spiridonova: "One moment. I must come in here. No one will suspect me of sympathies for the Bolsheviks, but remaining silent at this moment would be doubly immoral. Mr Struve has a short memory. Lenin has never thought or talked about the dictatorship of the proletariat in terms of a one-party system. Or, to put it more strongly, when in December 1917 he proposed to us a system of proportional representation, he said that Soviet power gives the workers the possibility, if they are not satisfied with their party, of electing their representatives again, handing over power to another party, and changing the government without the least revolution. You know that very well. The Bolsheviks have only asked one thing of the other parties: recognition of the fundamental decrees about the land and peace and the renunciation of armed struggle against the Soviet power. And what was the reply? This freedom, which was given by the party, is still being used for what in legal language would be called 'attempts to overthrow the existing system.' What government, I ask you, could agree to this?"

She actually said this almost word for word.

[Starink] Around a year ago *Moscow News* published a critical letter from 10 well known Russian emigres who live in the West. They included biologist Vladimir Bukovskiy, writers Vladimir Maksimov and Vasiliy Aksenev, sculptor Ernst Neizvestnyy, and director Yuriy Lyubimov. They spoke negatively of perestroyka. A week later the weekly published a very fierce reaction from Mikhail Shatrov, among others. According to Shatrov by their letter the emigres had denied themselves the right ever to return to the Soviet Union. Why this sharp tone?

[Shatrov] That is very difficult for you to understand. Lyubimov and Aksenev were my colleagues. For years we struggled for the same cause. What they went through, I also have behind me. For a long time my plays too were not performed and suffered censorship. We went hand in hand. At the moment that they left they weakened our army. Do they have the right to criticize us from where they are, if we assume that they really want life here to get better?

For years we have been hoping for what is happening now. And when the moment comes and a terrible life-and-death struggle is fought every day here, they write an article like the one they wrote which is taken by the opponents of perestroyka as a little bit of support for them. As a result they have gone over to the enemy camp completely. It is as if during a hard fight someone tries to help from the sidelines, but in actual fact only hinders. No one is saying that they do not have the right to speak as they did, but do not deny us the right to react as we did.

[Starink] But do you not think that some of the signatories of this letter spent time in camps precisely because they once behaved in a way that is now being officially supported as perestroyka?

[Shatrov] I do not now why they spent time in camps. They are very different people. I am only talking about the people I knew personally and who were once close to me. I simply do not want them to work against what has started here with much pain and difficulty.

[Starink] Do you think that perestroyka will prevail?

[Shatrov] That is something that I will work for. In the West there are several forces that do not want it to prevail. But we have to succeed in returning to the moment at which development was interrupted by the unprincipled banditism of Stalinism. We have to demonstrate that the ideas of human justice are realizable.

Media Chiefs Weigh Impact of Glasnost

PM060920 Paris LE MONDE in French 4 Nov 87 p 4

[Alain Jacob dispatch: "Democracy, Openness, and 'Patriotism'"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—For anyone who knew the USSR during the Brezhnev years the Soviet press today is a veritable revelation. It is sometimes disconcerting because although everyone is for glasnost, the use made of it varies between different sectors of the media. Television programs, for instance, range from the most original—with round tables in which virtually anything can be heard or the remarkable 26 October documentary that referred to some of Stalin's errors—to the most conformist. Thus, some evenings at least, the famous "Vremya" program gives greatest prominence to leading workers and the successes of restructuring in the various republics. [passage omitted]

How do they work and live, these new-style journalists, who seem like pioneers in this country still set in its ways—the USSR? Their temperaments and backgrounds differ. Vitaliy Korotich, 51, was editor of a review of

foreign literature in the Ukraine when Aleksandr Yakovlev, now a Politburo member, suggested that he take over the editorship of the magazine *Ogonek*. After a period of hesitation here he is, 18 months on, at the head of a previously devastatingly platitudinous illustrated weekly, now the vanguard of the "new revolution" with a circulation of 1.5 million that could increase to 3 million in the future... if there were enough paper. Meanwhile the magazine is sold on the black market.

Vitaliy Korotich is someone who shoulders his responsibilities. In our presence he was handed a poem whose publication could apparently prompt questions. He read it carefully, pondered for a few minutes, then said: "Go ahead!"

"You see," he explained, "I am here to do my job. Aleksandr Yakovlev told me this quite clearly. I do not have to wait outside his office with the articles submitted to *Ogonek*. It is up to me to make the decisions."

This does not mean that there is no contact with the government. There is the telephone, for instance, the only one of the three on his desk that the *Ogonek* editor answers himself. There are also several meetings that brings press chiefs together with Aleksandr Yakovlev, his Politburo colleague Yegor Ligachev, or even Mikhail Gorbachev himself. The former two apparently usually speak on the CPSU general secretary's behalf, without much comment. Mikhail Gorbachev, on the other hand, prefers to let others speak and then to draw conclusions—his own—from what he has heard.

Actually the crucial point is that Vitaliy Korotich's main struggle is not with the government. At the moment, at least, the government is more of an ally, even though caution remains essential because certain bodies might not be sorry if *Ogonek* were to commit a real blunder. The main struggle is with the readership.

"We receive 350 letters a day," Vitaliy Korotich said. "Approximately one-third concern the Stalin era. One in eight criticize us with the following kind of comment: 'You will see, it will all return as it was before, and you will pay.' However, I am not afraid of the truth. We must learn to live under democratic conditions, help people to form their own personal viewpoints.... They must thus be helped to resolve the problems about which they talk to us."

Ogonek thus acts as intermediary between its readers and the higher echelons. "If you knock hard enough," Vitaliy Korotich said, "the doors will open." Basically, however, he added, the problem remains that "change bothers people and they are unwilling to take responsibility for themselves." Part of the population regards any criticism of the present situation in the USSR as dangerous for the simple reason that "we must be strong because we are surrounded by enemies."

"We are no less patriotic than others," Vitaliy Korotich replied. "We want our country to become stronger. This is impossible without democracy. Academicians tell us that they need more democracy to study nuclear physics. Sportsmen too are calling for more democracy so they can play hockey or football better...."

"Patriotism" and "democracy" are words that frequently recurred also in a conversation with Vladislav Starkov, editor of *Argumenty i Fakty*, weekly organ of the Znaniye organization, which has long held information meetings at which all kinds of issues can be broached. This prompted Starkov to say that "restructuring started a long time ago for us." The fact remains that *Argumenty i Fakty* has increased its circulation from 100,000 in 1973 to over 3.5 million now and hopes to approach 10 million by 1988.

"We are experiencing a psychologically difficult time," its editor said. "We cannot ignore a public whose political maturity is insufficient. You only have to see the letters of complaint that we receive when we broach topics such as Stalin's errors...."

In this dialogue with readers, which occupies an important place in the weekly, Vladislav Starkov notes that the promotion of the "new mentality" is encountering at least two obstacles. Like V. Korotich, he believes that "our people are very patriotic—too much so, perhaps, because it hinders people's critical faculties and makes them ignore others' opinions. Over the past 70 years there has been a gradual accumulation in the USSR of this kind of 'patriotism', whereby dirty linen must never be washed in public and certain pages in our history must remain blank.... Of course in my opinion we should publish Khrushchev's report to the 20th congress" (on Stalin's personality cult—*Le Monde* editor's note).

"Socialism's Advantages" [subhead]

Another obstacle is a certain conception of what is usually called "socialism's advantages." Socialism has brought progress. However, the "advantages" in question are now resulting in a situation in which "even by doing little work it is possible to make a living—perhaps not very good, but not too bad either." It is not an attitude that greatly helps bold reforms but how can it be ignored? "Consider the reform of prices. It must be examined further. Would the restructuring be in danger of stifling if it proceeds too cautiously? There is no single answer to this question. We must be both revolutionary and wise." Above all, Vladislav Starkov said, "we must be quite clear that everything depends on people—not on a single leader, not even on Mikhail Gorbachev."

Neither Korotich nor Starkov complain about censorship, and the material published in their periodicals suggests that times really have changed in the USSR in this respect. Apart from the bans on pornography and incitement to violence, there is nevertheless still one field in which openness is strictly controlled. Anything of

possible relevance to national security remains subject to the approval of the appropriate bodies. This can range from military secrets to corruption in the militia, but it must be admitted that this "sensitive area" embraces almost the entire field of foreign policy. The press and the government are unanimous here: It was possible to touch lightly the subject of the military budget after Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Petrovskiy broached it himself in the United Nations. It is one of *Argumenty i Fakty*'s specialities to proceed from an official statement and to try to go a little further....

However, as far as is known, no debate, however limited and contradictory, has yet been embarked on in the press on any aspect of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. This is a shortcoming and there is no sign at the moment that it is about to be remedied. This apparently prompted one famous writer on foreign affairs to say that he now envied his colleagues who cover domestic affairs....

Gorbachev Book Presentation Reported

PM061317 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by A. Kuvshinnikov and A. Cherepanov : "M.S. Gorbachev's Book on Restructuring and New Thinking"]

[Text] The presentation of the book "Restructuring and the New Thinking for Our Country and for the Entire World" by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took place at the Press Center for the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution. It has been published simultaneously by the Political Literature Publishing House and the U.S. publisher Harper and Row. Over 20 major world publishers have obtained the right to publish it in the course of November and December.

This book contains two interrelated parts, M. Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, said. In the first part the author gives his understanding of restructuring, its sources, essence, and purpose. He particularly stresses that restructuring is not the Soviet people's disillusionment with socialism. On the contrary, it is directed at revealing the huge potential of our social system.

What is the main concern of restructuring? The democratic renewal of Soviet society, the author of the book replies. What is the most difficult problem in restructuring? Restructuring people's consciousness.

The second part of the book, which is inseparable from the first, studies the problems of the new thinking in world policy. It brings to the fore values common to all mankind, or, more precisely, the problem of mankind's survival, which today is far above both class and narrow national values, the writer G. Baklanov, chief editor of the journal *Znamya*, said in his address. In addition, I. Dedkov, member of the editorial board of the journal *Kommunist*, and N. Shishlin, leader of the press center, also spoke.

The book is very unusual in terms of its genre and the author's style. The majority of such books have been written as a collection of dogmatic assertions to be learned by rote and fulfilled unconditionally. But M.S. Gorbachev stresses particularly: No one has the right to truth in the final instance. There must not be a monopoly of one person or group of persons in either practical and theoretical questions. This inevitably leads to the ossification of thought which would deal a mortal blow to restructuring.

In his book M.S. Gorbachev avoids edifying sermons. He invites reflection on our society's problems and the prospects for its development bearing in mind that after reflection there should be interpretation and after that—action.

Sixth Foreign Ministry Bulletin Published

LD052055 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 5 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, November 5 TASS—"People have long been searching for Atlantis, that enigmatic and legendary Land. I believe that one or several states, even powerful ones, will not be able to discover or create an Atlantis of nuclear weapon-free future—it is a task that can be accomplished only by the entire international community," Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, said during the ceremony where Soviet-Brazilian documents were signed on September 30, 1987 during his official visit to Brazil.

The speech appeared in the just-published 6th issue of the Bulletin of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

The bulletin also carried Eduard Shevardnadze's speeches at a luncheon given in his honor by Dante Caputo, minister of foreign affairs of Argentina, on October 1, 1987 during the Soviet minister's official visit to Argentina and the statement made by Eduard Shevardnadze at a news conference in Montevideo on October 7 during his official visit to Uruguay.

The bulletin also published a report about the working visit of the Soviet foreign minister to Cuba on October 8-9, 1987.

One of the sections of the bulletin is devoted to the 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly and meetings Eduard Shevardnadze had in New York on September 19-25.

The historical section of the bulletin is devoted to Maxim Litvinov, Soviet diplomat, statesman and party figure.

Economic

Aganbegyan, Economists on Restructuring

LD082223 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1745 GMT 7 Nov 87

["Perestroyka in the Minds and in the Workshops" presented by unidentified announcer and Rezsoe Nyers, scientific adviser to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Economic Science Institute, in Budapest; and Jozsef Barath, not further identified, and Academician Abel Gezevich Aganbegyan, secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Department, in Moscow; Barath and Aganbegyan speak in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Barath] I would like to welcome the participants of this discussion. In our Moscow studio is Academician Abel Gezevich Aganbegyan, who is considered by many in Hungary as one of the leading theoreticians of perestroyka, the Soviet economic restructuring. In our Budapest studio is Rezsoe Nyers, who has been described in the Soviet press as the "father of the Hungarian Reform." Before we begin this discussion, I would like to ask you to sketch out very briefly the current economic situation of your own countries. Academician Abel Agabegyan, can perestroyka already be felt in the Soviet economy, or is it only the political atmosphere that has changed so far?

[Aganbegyan] Important favorable changes are taking place in the economy. Within the economy, perestroyka is developing in three directions. First is the social direction. Let us take concrete examples.

The most acute social problem is housing. In 20 years, during the last 25 years starting with 1962, we have built 2 million homes very year. But the size of the population has also increased. It was in 1986 that we first went beyond the period of stagnation. We built 2.2 million homes. In 1987, 2.4 million homes will be built. But we want to build 3 million homes per annum, and we are now building the factories for this. So this is substantial progress.

The second huge problem is food supplies. From 1978 agriculture practically stagnated. In 1986 agricultural production grew by 5%; the same as the total increase over the previous 5-year plan. Cereal production had grown in the last 2 years of the last 5-year plan to 200 million tonnes, meat production from 16.2 million tonnes to 17.7 million tonnes, that is, more than the total for the entire 5-year period. But unfortunately we were forced to devote a portion of this surplus meat and cereals to balance food imports which had been falling because of a fall in our export earnings. So we could not import as much as required.

Let us now have a look at the problem of the health sector. In our country, life expectancy had fallen from the 1960s rate.

[Barath] Especially among men, middle-aged men in employment.

[Aganbegyan] Yes, among men, primarily as a result of the spread of drunkenness. Well, we have been fighting alcoholism for 2 years. Last year we twice placed restrictions on the sale of wine and other alcoholic drinks. The party's Central Committee approved the plan—which could no longer be postponed—of a set of measures relating to the health sector, and the budget of the Soviet health sector was increased by R5 billion. The building of health institutes will increase by 50%, the salaries of health workers will go up by 30%, and in the past 2 years we have arrested the process of decline. Within 2 years, life expectancies increased by 2 years. The average now is 70 years. So this is the third direction.

So there are undoubtedly positive trends, and more than a few. But there are no radical changes. Far from every family can enjoy the fruits of the social achievements of perestroyka. It would be difficult to expect that after 2 years.

[Barath] Thank you Academician Aganbegyan. What is the situation in Hungary?

[Announcer] I have a feeling that drawing parallels between the economic-political change in the USSR and the Hungarian economic situation would be difficult. Similarly, I think the reform process and perestroyka cannot really be directly compared.

[Nyers] This is without doubt true. But the situation is similar in the sense that a turnabout must also take place in Hungary with different content than in the USSR.

[Announcer] A turnabout in economic policy or a turnabout in the entire social policy, politics?

[Nyers] Primarily an economic policy turnabout. This is the heart of the changes. But in order for this to take place, significant political changes must accompany it. The content of the economic turnabout is that we should stabilize the country's financial situation, both in foreign trade, foreign economic respects, that is, that we should create a balance in the country's foreign trade and payments balance and in the domestic financial equilibrium, that is, state expenditure.

[Announcer] So one of the directions of the changes is in economic policy. I think it is expedient at the same time to stress that this is also a period of the third, fourth, fifth—who knows how many there have been—start on the continuation of the economic reform.

[Nyers] In a sense, a certain kind of turnabout is also taking place in Hungary regarding economic reform. It has become evident that the Hungarian economy can only be made dynamic, economic growth revitalized, and lasting foundations for equilibrium can only be solved by a further radical reform of the system of

economic management. So we are not going backward in the reforms but forward. But at the moment these are only manifested in limited steps. In the future, we must speed up the reform process in parallel with stabilization.

[Announcer] Can the economic reforms be felt in everyday Hungarian life? Has this reform become a public cause, or can it become a national program?

[Nyers] The continuation of the economic reform process is certainly becoming felt in a certain part of economic management and is transformed into action, but in the entirety of the economic life this has not yet happened. We have to say, therefore, that as a result of 20 years of reforms and as a consequence of the uncertainties that have occurred in the course of the reforms, one part of society is in a state of reform fatigue [reformkifaradas].

[Announcer] What are you referring to?

[Nyers] I am referring to the fact that people feel insecure. Now, one can say that this is not so much a consequence of the reforms but rather a consequence of the country's economic situation, and perhaps these phenomena could have been avoided by a more dynamic reform process. But the effects generated by the reform and the effects that have arisen as a result of the application of brakes to the reform have merged in people's minds—they appear together. In general, the stratum that has experienced a fall in living standards has a tendency to blame the reforms for this.

[Barath] As time is pressing, may I suggest what we ask our guests if they have any questions for each other. Abel Gezevich, do you have any questions regarding the Hungarian economy?

[Aganbegyan] I would like to ask you if you are optimistic when you look at the prospects for Hungary's development?

[Announcer] I would like to say from Budapest that Rezsoe Nyers is well-known as an incurable optimist.

[Nyers] In my opinion, I am known as a not incurable optimist. The longer I look ahead, the more optimistic I am. The shorter my perspective regarding the situation of the Hungarian economy and people's opinions and actions, the less optimistic I get. So I feel that we must now get through a difficult period when a new unity in thinking is needed in economic policy and in the field of economic reforms. In other words, the creation of a spiritual harmony is needed. I hope this will happen.

[Announcer] One aspect of the matter of course is that our long-term hopes will only be realized if we can also succeed in stabilizing the situation in the short run.

[Nyers] The possibility for this exists, but I think it is very questionable whether this will amount to 1 or 2 years, 3 to 4 years or 4 to 5 years.

I would also like to ask you, dear Abel Gezevich, whether you are optimistic now regarding the USSR's economic growth and its foreign trade performance? What do you expect from the near future?

[Aganbegyan] Our economic growth rate has speeded up somewhat. As for foreign trade activities, the prices of oil and other raw materials have suddenly fallen. This can be felt in our exports. But we have taken a whole range of big steps toward the restructuring of the system of economic relations. We have abolished the monopoly of the Foreign Trade Ministry. We have led many enterprises out into the socialist market. We have brought some large enterprises—only a few, it is true—into direct contact with the capitalist market. We have taken steps to establish joint enterprises and are generally developing all forms of integration with socialist countries. But we are probably at the very beginning of this development.

Nevertheless, I believe that if we proceed along this road and after we have carried out the price reform planned for 1990, we will be able to pay more thorough attention to the problem of the convertibility of the ruble. We will be able to take further serious steps to democratize foreign relations. In my view all these things are a huge extra reservoir of our economic growth. Naturally, we will still have to radically alter the export structure. We must make it much more efficient, expanding it with the export of energy carriers, raw materials, finished goods, and products of new technology and science. We must of course also change the import structure. The goal is to reduce the import of foodstuffs and [word indistinct] to a minimum, but we must increase the procurement of new technologies and perhaps a range of durable consumer goods.

[Barath] Among other things you have mentioned prices. I know that Soviet people speak a lot among themselves about the fact that there is a certain fear felt by them regarding price increases. My question is as follows: Is there a way of simultaneously avoiding inflation and unemployment, while at the same time making the economy more efficient?

[Aganbegyan] Only life can answer these questions. I believe that we will not permit unemployment. Our situation is comfortable in this respect in the sense that the increase in the population of working age is still determined by the influence of the last war. Thus, in our country the increase in the labor force will drop by 20 million during the next 15 years, as compared to the previous period. The labor shortage is a greater threat than unemployment and we will have to at least double productivity in order to bridge this shortage.

We will have to reorganize the services sector as well; we have to create modern service enterprises.

[Barath] Forgive me for interrupting, but there is something I would like to ask. As far as I know, the labor force [words indistinct]. What are you planning in this respect?

[Aganbegyan] We are strengthening the social and economic incentives in the interest of the redeployment of labor force. More precisely, we are expanding the regional centers in the eastern part of the country and are raising the supplementary pay in the northern areas. The balance is already quite favorable. Approximately 150,000-200,000 more people move to Siberia each year than the number leaving it. The great development plan for the Far East was adopted recently. Those who live there receive all sorts of social benefits. This is increasing considerably. Thus, I think that this is a positive force. In other words, we are employing not administrative but purely economic methods there.

[Barath] As regards inflation, I have read that there has been hidden inflation in the Soviet Union for some years.

[Aganbegyan] Indeed, some hidden price increases have taken place, in particular [words indistinct]. More expensive products which are not always of a higher quality, have appeared, whose prices have increased disproportionately. Indeed, there is a process of this sort and there is indeed a danger of inflation in the course of the implementation of the price reform, the significant decentralization of the commercial centers, when the state determines the prices centrally only as regards the most important goods. But we are endeavoring to work out measures that influence the setting of prices, for example by the determination of central prices relating to mass products, the control of the correctness of prices, the control of the setting of prices, the system of income tax, the elimination of the monopoly position of enterprises, taking into consideration the influence of the foreign, particularly the socialist, markets.

I think that the expansion of the market, on which we are at work at the present time, and particularly the creation of the market and commerce in agricultural produce, are tremendous steps toward controlling inflation. We will see how we succeed in this.

[Barath] However, Soviet people have not at all gotten used to the idea that prices can change, can increase. I must ask, by the way, both participants in this conversation the following question: It is clear that economic changes have political conditions, as well as political consequences. What do you think? How must the system of political structure change with perestroyka and, in Hungary, with economic reform?

[Aganbegyan] I would very much like to hear Rezsoe Nyers first; after all, he is more of a politician than I am.

[Announcer] I have just one remark to make on all this. A minute ago it appeared as if we were talking about a price reform as if the debate concerned this. Then it very quickly appeared that even a so-called simple price reform has far-reaching consequences for the entire economic structure, employment policy, and everything else. Now, in Hungary we are talking not about price reforms but of price and tax reforms and later on wage reform. At the same time, it is beyond doubt that it is precisely inflation that is the greatest test for Hungarian society.

[Nyers] It is beyond doubt that a certain rate of inflation makes economic management more difficult, makes rational shopping by consumers more difficult, and exerts a generally unfavorable effect.

[Announcer] Let us add, in public life as well.

[Nyers] Yes, in public life as well. Consequently, socialist society also tolerates relatively low inflation reasonably well, while society finds it difficult to tolerate a higher rate of inflation. This begins with two digits; it is certain to begin with two digits, though it begins even when two digits are approached. The example of Yugoslavia demonstrates that society cannot really tolerate a higher rate of inflation. Thus, we have to rid ourselves of inflation, but not at the price of freezing the economic redeployments that are necessary for technological development.

[Announcer] What changes are necessary in the system of political institutions for sufficiently bolstering the economic reform?

[Nyers] In my opinion, politics must also change. The way I see it, Hungary and the Soviet Union are approaching this issue in opposite ways. In Hungary it arises in the wake of a certain realization of the economic reforms that without political changes the matter cannot be taken further. It seems to me that in the Soviet Union, the Gorbachev initiative began precisely in the political sphere and expanded to the economy. I think that one of the most important tasks is to modernize the leading role of the party, to interpret it in an up-to-date way, and the party should not be a center of the economic activities in the sense in which it was in the first period of the revolution. Thus, the activities of governing and the activities of the party must become separated to some extent and economic life must gain a relatively autonomous position, so that rational economic decisions can be taken.

[Announcer] Thereby not only the economy as an independent whole world become autonomous but the participants in economic life as well, and I am thinking here not only of enterprises but also of individuals and cooperatives. Thus, autonomy should be interpreted quite widely, I think.

[Nyers] Yes, this is what I think too. At any rate, however, enterprise independence cannot be realized in practice without the realization of the independent responsibility of the government, side by side with the party but separately from it. Let me add, all this requires a new type of governmental organization, state organization.

[Barath] How does Academician Aganbegyan view these matters?

[Aganbegyan] I think that the economic reforms of the mid-fifties and sixties ended unsuccessfully and it is my view that they were doomed to failure from the beginning, precisely because the economic reforms were not accompanied by a political transformation, by an ideological transformation. I agree with what Comrade Nyers said, namely that in our country the transformation began first in the political sphere. We moved on to perestroyka in the ideological sphere, and this is extremely important from the point of view of economic development.

The other circumstance that resulted in the failure of the reforms of the past is that the reforms were implemented from the inside and the mechanism of democratic initiatives coming from below was missing. The wide masses of the workers were not won over to the changes. Consequently, we now regard the democratization of society as a whole—of the party, economic democracy, the moving of the workers' collectives toward self-management—as the main sources of the further development of perestroyka, as the condition for the irreversibility of the changes.

Thus, the economic reforms and the political transformation go hand in hand, helping each other.

Restructuring, New Economic Policy Compared

AU041448 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 2 Nov 87 p 2

[Article by Petr Ivanov: "Questions of Economic Policy: Is Restructuring a Repetition of the New Economic Policy?"—in joint 2-page supplement produced by Sofia TRUD and Moscow NOVOSTI, devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution"]

[Text] People often compare the current economic reform in the USSR with NEP (the New Economic Policy), which in its time replaced the so-called "military communism." "Military communism" was characterized by ultracentralism of management and by the equalizing [uravnovilovuchno] distribution of food products and essential articles. The Soviet state was obliged to resort to this form during the civil war years.

What Did NEP Comprise? [subhead]

The main features of NEP were the following:

First and foremost, the so-called food distribution was replaced as a method by a fixed tax. It followed from this that the villagers were not obliged to hand over all their surplus production to the state, but only a strictly determined portion of their production was changed [se promeni]. All the reserves remaining after payment of the tax remained with the farmers, who could use them for trade or to increase their production.

In industry, NEP primarily meant a transition from management by directive to economic accountability. The basic industrial units came to be the trusts—associations of analogous enterprises on a territorial or production-territorial basis. The levelling wages system of "military communism" was replaced by payment according the quantity and quality of labor.

In addition, a concentration of industry took place. However, according to present-day conceptions, this process occurred in an unusual way. Its essence lay in concentrating the production solely of those enterprises that were provided with the necessary resources. The remainder were either preserved or leased out to private individuals, or, as a last resort, closed down.

The financial system was also reformed. The immense numbers of "sovzhak" banknotes that had been put into circulation over the years were gradually replaced by gold-backed rubles.

Finally, within the framework of the reorganization of the credit system, five branch banks were set up alongside the state bank.

These were the main principles of the reform of 1921. Regarding the admission of private capital into the Soviet economy, we must say, without denying its importance, that this measure was merely an ancillary and temporary one.

The Pluses and Minuses [subhead]

Of the trusts' profits, 80% was transferred to the state, which applied these funds primarily for developing the power industry and transportation, creating the machine-building base, and reestablishing the other branches. In 1926 the minimum program of the Leninist GOELRO [State Commission for the Electrification of Russia] plan was fulfilled: A network of electricity power plants appeared in the European section of the USSR. The first Soviet vehicles and tractors were produced.

However, NEP failed to achieve all the goals set for it. According to Soviet scholars, a number of errors were committed in implementing the New Economic Policy. The chief mistake, as Vladimir Manevich, doctor of economic sciences, writes in *Sotsialisticheckaya Industriya*, was that in the twenties only the trusts, and not individual enterprises, were transferred to economic accountability.

The economic levers were not brought into effect at this level: The trusts sent plans down to the enterprises that were in the nature of directives and pursued purely internal trust interests. No incentives were created in the enterprises for attaining one of the chief goals of socialist management, namely the increase of production while reducing costs.

This fundamental mistake prompted a "chain reaction" with serious consequences. What exactly did this comprise? The trusts, especially the large ones, were relatively few in number. However, given the existence of limited markets, a competitive struggle developed among them despite everything. In order to escape from this situation, trade associations of trusts, or syndicates, were set up. These succeeded in establishing market monopolies in entire branches of industry. The relationships between the trusts were regulated, but the interrelationships between industry and its customers were upset. The syndicates were stimulated by economic accountability to raise prices, so that in autumn 1923 a crisis arose in the demand for industrial goods.

Among other things, this frustrated the solving of yet another important task of NEP, namely the expansion of economic ties between town and country. For the main purchasers of industrial products were surely the villagers, who formed the majority of the country's population. How could they allow themselves to buy, when the prices for industrial products in 1923 were at least three times those of 1913?

The state was compelled to reduce prices. However, since economic accountability could not extend down to the enterprises because of this price-cutting campaign, as well due to other campaigns that followed, a fresh jump in prices occurred. In a word, the system of financial and credit regulation was unable to cope with its task.

At the end of the twenties, when, in the interest of speeding up socialist industrialization, a policy toward complete centralization was once again adopted, the mechanism of NEP failed completely.

The Twenties and Eighties [subhead]

Does, therefore, the current economic reform signify a return to NEP? It is hardly possible to give a plain and simple answer to this question.

The chief difference between them is that in the twenties the country faced the task of overcoming the destruction and creating a new production potential practically from the bottom. Today we are setting ourselves the goal of unleashing all the capabilities of one of the most developed economic potentials in the world.

As far as the other aims are concerned, such as the development of economic accountability in the system of finance and credit, the democratization of management, and so forth, NEP and restructuring have much in common. Today it is very important for the economy not to repeat the chief mistake of the twenties, which lay in limiting the independence of the enterprises and replacing economic methods of management by administrative ones. It is precisely for this reason that the restructuring today has as its foundation the Law on the Socialist Enterprise (Association), which was approved in June this year at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This in many aspects followed NEP, while at the same time setting up dependable restraints to prevent NEP's failures.

BRIEFS

New Surikova Airport

It will now take only an hour for the inhabitants of the settlement of Surikova to travel to Krasnoyarsk. A new airport has been put into use there which will be able to receive L-400-10 passenger aircraft. All major populated localities in the kray are now linked to Krasnoyarsk by reliable air links. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 8 Nov 87 LD*]

Adzhar ASSR TV

Adzharian TV broadcast its first programs today. The autonomous republic has a mobile station made up of two vehicles with the latest equipment. It will go on the air twice a week in the evening with a 45-minute program. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 5 Nov 87 LD*]

Agricultural

Grain Delivery Plans Fulfilled

Krasnodar Kray's 'Record' Crop

PM051239 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Kuban Grain"]

[Text] Krasnodar, 1 Nov—Delivering 4 million tonnes of high-quality grain to state granaries, Kuban grain growers have successfully fulfilled their annual plan for grain sales to the state. This included 2.7 million tonnes of wheat—the staple food crop—virtually all of which is accounted for by strong and valuable varieties.

The biggest contribution has been made by farmers of Adygeyskaya Autonomous Oblast and Timashevskiy, Ust-Labinskiy, Vyselkovskiy, Korenovskiy, Kurganinskiy, Labinskiy, and other rayons of the kray. This is the second year in succession that the Kuban has achieved a record harvest despite unfavorable weather conditions. The cultivation of wheat by means of intensive techniques, the improvement of the economic management mechanism, and the introduction of progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration have played their part.

The grain growers' shock labor in the jubilee year has enabled the Kuban to sell the state 300,000 tonnes of grain more than envisaged by the plan for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan. Plans for purchases of meat, milk, eggs, and wool have been fulfilled equally successfully. For the first time in the last 12 years more than 700,000 tonnes of vegetables have been harvested, as envisaged by the target.

Pavlodar Oblast

PM051349 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general heading "Annual Target!"]

[Text] Pavlodar—The oblast's grain farmers have delivered more than 714,000 tonnes of grain to the motherland's granaries as against an annual plan of 710,600 tonnes. Sales of grain to the state are continuing in these days before the festivities.

North Ossetia Region

PM051347 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general heading "Annual Target!"]

[Text] Ordzhonikidze—The crop farmers of the North Ossetian ASSR have reaffirmed their high grain-growing skills this year. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the autonomous republic have gathered a good harvest of agricultural crops. Some 156,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered to the motherland's granaries as against a plan of 150,000 tonnes. Above-plan sales of corn are continuing in the republic.

Winter Problems in Stockraising Assessed

PM051351 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 25 Oct 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Wintering—the Main Test for Stockraisers"]

[Text] Field work continues, machines carrying green matter are still traveling along roads and silage pits, and the final cuts of grass have not been completed, but the stalling period has already begun on the country's livestock units everywhere. The wintering of livestock has begun. But it must be said bluntly and frankly that it will take place in difficult conditions. Although coarse and succulent feed stocks per standard head of livestock are now somewhat in excess of last year's figure, many places do not have enough to ensure high milk yields and weight gains. Furthermore, the quality of the feed procured in the unusually rainy weather is not high. The prevailing situation requires special cohesion and organization from stockraisers.

In the 1st 9 months of this year the sale of livestock and poultry in the country increased by 6%, cow milk yields and milk production rose by 2%, and egg production was up 3%. But this is no reason for complacency. The rate of growth of the production and purchase of livestock products in some republics, krays, and oblasts is still not high enough and the food supply situation remains acute. On many kolkhozes and sovkhozes, particularly in the Northwest Region of the RSFSR, some oblasts in the Volga Region and Siberia, the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Armenia, and Turkmenia milk yields have fallen and in a number of places weight gains by animals being fattened have also fallen. That is why it is so important to achieve a breakthrough during the stalling months and to ensure that livestock unit productivity increases and that targets for the sale of livestock products to the state are fulfilled and overfulfilled. Not only to preserve what has been achieved but also to improve on the results and to provide for Soviet people's tables as much meat, milk, and eggs as possible and to rapidly ensure a significant improvement in the the food supply—that is the appeal which the CPSU Central Committee made to livestock workers, kolkhoz and sovkhoz specialists and leaders, primary party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and all labor collectives in the agro-industrial complex.

The main factor on which the results of livestock wintering and thus the results of the work of the whole stockraising sector in the current year and the prospects for its development in the 3d year of the 5-year plan depend is livestock unit workers themselves and the representatives of all the many stockraising trades. Milkmaids, cowherds, calf attendants, pig farmers, shepherds, poultry farmers, feed storemen, and mechanics and repairmen have in their hands a tremendous economic and production potential: a livestock herd numbering many thousands, capital buildings equipped with complex modern technology, and feed stocks created by the extremely intensive labor of crop farmers. It is important now to use all this correctly and to the greatest advantage, to boldly apply intensive methods toward that end, and to bring all internal production reserves into operation.

The most significant reserve is the attitude toward the cause and work, conscientiousness, and discipline. Even nutritious feed will not increase milk yields or weight gains if feed is used carelessly, if rations are not adhered to, and if concern is not shown for good preparation in the feed-production shops. Breaches of the daily timetable and late milking or feed distribution have an adverse effect on livestock productivity, and in stockraising even a small loss is irrecoverable. Beginning every technological process on time, carrying it out efficiently, and ensuring that all work is done strictly according to the rules of animal husbandry is to a large extent to guarantee an increase in livestock productivity, the safekeeping of newborn animals, and the production of high-quality milk, meat, and other valuable products.

Since livestock unit workers are responsible for the fate of livestock wintering, special concern must be shown for them. It is necessary to assess each person's contribution on its merits, promptly note and encourage those who have achieved good results, make skillful use of all forms of labor incentives for stockraisers, introduce a convenient daily regime, and create a most-favored status for stockraising workers—without that, the work of kolkhoz chairmen, sovkhoz directors, and leaders of local trade union organizations is inconceivable. Much can be done in this direction by workers of medical establishments, trade, and the consumer services sphere.

Truly creative work, total commitment, the mobilization of all forces, and the skillful use of advanced experience are necessary in the complex conditions of the current wintering period. Our stockraisers do not lack such experience. In some places, unfortunately, concern is not being shown to assimilate advanced experience. In Kurgan Oblast, for instance, the collective of the "Vpered" Kolkhoz in Safakulevskiy Rayon decided to increase the milk yield by 100 kg in comparison with last winter, to raise the surrender weight of cattle to 450 kg and of pigs to 95 kg, and to increase meat production by 9%. But this experience has not been widely disseminated and by the beginning of the stalling period the conditions of the livestock workers' competition had not even been devised in the oblast. The majority of farms there cannot boast of successes in stockraising and the prospects for the stalling period are bleak.

Wintering cannot be conducted successfully if feed preparation is not well organized. Nevertheless, it is this very area which in many places is the most neglected. Of 168 feed preparation shops in the Yakut ASSR, for example, less than 100 were ready for use and less than one-half of those were actually working at the beginning of October. One-half of feed shops are not ready for work in a number of Vologda Oblast rayons and only 5 of the 28 planned in Smolensk Oblast have been built on time. The repair of feed shops is behind schedule in Kazakhstan's Kokchetav and North Kazakhstan Oblasts. The position taken by farm leaders in Uralsk Oblast, where only one-half of the cow sheds and sheep pens and 14% of pig sties are ready for winter, can only be described as irresponsible. The repair of premises in Kustanay Oblast and many rayons in Saratov Oblast is behind schedule. Does it have to be said that this threatens the whole wintering program—after all, its course is determined to a large extent during these first days and weeks!

Livestock wintering is a serious test for farm and rayon agro-industrial association specialists. The next few months will show which of them is worthy of that lofty title. The most important tasks facing the sector's specialists are to devise scientifically validated rations which enable every kilogram of nutrients to be used with the utmost efficiency, to be more daring in the introduction of detailed feeding norms, to organize work with the breeding herd in such a way as to produce more young at the optimum time, to work persistently to master new methods so as to produce more output from a smaller herd, in other words, to make skillful and full use of the entire range of methods of modern animal husbandry and veterinary science. That is the test of their knowledge, art, and organizational skill!

This fact has to be repeated time and time again because in a number of places recently a tendency to return to the old and discredited methods of extensive stockraising has emerged. Once again some people are being excessively rigid in monitoring the rejection of livestock, refusing to allow animals with low productivity to be removed from the herd, assessing farms' work not according to the production of livestock unit output but according to herd numbers, and seeing herd reduction as the main reason for failure to meet the milk and meat sales plans. However, it is the insufficiently consistent intensification of the sector and low animal productivity that are are holding back the growth of production and the sale of livestock products. Many farms in Novosibirsk Oblast hand in underweight animals for slaughter and cow milk yields there are no higher than they were 7 years ago. In Krasnoyarsk Kray much milk was lost during the transfer from summer to winter maintenance. Milk yields in Novgorod, Pskov, Kursk, and Rostov Oblasts are below last year's figures. The desire to fulfill the plan at all costs on a number of farms in Astrakhan Oblast has resulted in not just underweight but also downright scraggy animals being used for meat. Unfortunately, further examples of that kind could be cited.

Neither intensive methods nor advanced technology can be introduced by means of arbitrary pressure or administrative directive. The efficiency of stockraisers' work is many times higher in those places where they have a sense of being true masters of production and where the economic independence granted to them is consolidated by effective incentives and full labor remuneration based on end results. It is regrettable that in a number of places people have still not made a decisive change toward economic forms of labor management and organization in stockraising, are timid in adopting the collective contract and economic accountability, and are slow to disseminate the family and individual contract.

When we speak about the need to strengthen discipline—labor and technological discipline—we have in mind workers not only in agriculture but also of enterprises of related sectors in the agro-industrial complex. They must regard the needs and orders of stockraisers as the most urgent priority. That fact will determine whether the livestock units' supply of power and fuel is uninterrupted and reliable, whether all repair work and the technical servicing of livestock equipment are done on time, and how well organized the wintering and acceptance and processing of livestock products are. The latter is particularly important, because any interruption in the acceptance of livestock removed from fattening leads to a tremendous overexpenditure of feed, which is so scarce, disrupts the rhythm in the livestock unit's work, and sharply increases labor costs and the consumption of resources.

The most important task now is to mark each working day with a concrete contribution to increasing milk and meat production, enhance cadres' responsibility for fulfilling quarterly, half-yearly, and yearly livestock products sales targets, and to launch effective socialist competition on kolkhozes and sovkhozes to ensure exemplary wintering work. At the same time it is necessary to work to increase output while reducing costs, to reinforce the policy of thrift, to make careful use of feed, fuel, and energy resources, and to increase labor productivity. There is potential for this everywhere. All that is needed is to examine closely all elements of livestock unit techniques, to prevent all forms of losses, and to utilize all means to save material and technical resources. A high sense of responsibility and initiative on the part of every worker, intolerance toward even the slightest manifestations of mismanagement and wastefulness, and a desire to work in such a way as to surpass last winter's results—all this will make it possible to complete this year successfully and make a good start to next year.

Both the positive changes and the shortcomings in the food sphere depend primarily on the state of affairs in stockraising. It is by the development of this sector that the population judges the effectiveness of the measures being taken by party organizations and soviet and economic organs in the agrarian economy. That is why such significance is now attached to ensuring the well organized wintering of livestock. Workers in the sector and in all agro-industrial subunits are called upon do everything in their power to achieve the required level of supply of milk, meat, and other livestock products to the population within the next 2-3 years. This will also be their contribution to the practical implementation of the party's proclaimed course of restructuring.

BRIEFS

New Agro-Industrial System

A new form of managing rayon agro-industrial complexes is being tried out in Novomoskovsk Rayon, Tula Oblast. Whereas up until now rayon agro-industrial associations have coordinated and organized the work of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in Novomoskovsk the farms have themselves set up the RAPO like a unique type of socialist joint-stock company. The farms control the association's work through assemblies of representatives and use it to set up cooperatives to handle various aspects of farmwork. According to the new charter, the profits obtained are the property of the cooperatives' member farms; no more than 5% goes to the RAPO itself, while the rest is distributed between the cooperatives' development funds and the member farms. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0200 GMT 31 Oct 87 LD*]

Scientific

Cosmonauts Perform Fuel Consumption Experiment

LD101048 Moscow TASS in English 1034 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—TASS correspondent reporting from the Mission Control Centre:

Soviet cosmonauts Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov continue their flight on board the scientific and research complex *Mir*.

In the past few days the cosmonauts have finished practically all operations connected with the transport spacecraft Progress-32. The craft's cargo bay was filled with used equipment, drinking water was pumped into the tanks of the complex's base module and the single propulsion system was refuelled with fuel and oxidizer.

Under today's programme the experiment to further upgrade methods of holding dynamic operations on the orbit were held today. New algorithms for controlling the movement of spacecraft, designed with the aim of cutting the consumption of fuel during the processes of mutual search, rendezvous, mooring and docking, were tested in conditions of real flight.

Before this experiment started at 7 hours 09 minutes Moscow time, the transport spacecraft was separated and taken away from the orbital complex. At a distance of 2.5 kilometres the two spacecraft began approaching each other and docked again at 8:47.

At all stages of manoeuvring the on-board systems of the complex *Mir* and the automatic transport spacecraft Progress-32 functioned normally. Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksander Aleksandrov feel well.

The work on the orbit continues under the planned schedule.

'Progress' Activities

LD091310 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 9 Oct 87

[Excerpt] The crew on board the Soviet orbital complex "*Mir*" is finishing the last operations with the "Progress" unmanned cargo ship. Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov are pumping propellant and water on board the complex and replacing units in the station's life-suporting system. Meanwhile, preparations are going on at the Baykonur cosmodrome for the launching of the new "Progress" spacecraft with supplies for the spacemen. [passage omitted]

Exhaust Toxicity Standards Tightened

LD091315 Moscow TASS in English 1233 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 9 TASS—Toxicity norms for truck and car exhausts will be lowered by 15 to 20 per cent in the USSR by 1990. The new move to toughen toxicity standards for car fumes is envisaged by a comprehensive long-term programme to reduce air pollution for the current five-year plan period (1986-1990) and the period ending in 2000.

Yevgeniy Levichev, deputy minister of the automobile industry of the USSR, said in an interview with the newspaper *"NTR: Problems and Solutions"* that the new toxicity norms for vehicle exhausts coincide with the standards of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe.

This measure was prompted by the fact that in 200 out of 450 Soviet cities, in which the state of the air is constantly monitored, vehicles driven by internal combustion engines are the key source of poliution.

Our task is to ensure ecological purity without affecting cars' efficiency, Levichev said. Therefore, trucks' toxicity will be reduced due to the installation of new types of engines in them. A petrol engine with the so-called vortex movement of the fuel mixture charge was developed in the USSR. It consumes seven per cent less fuel as compared to conventional engines and the amount of carbon oxide [as received] contained in exhausts is cut by one fourth.

The output of cars using liquefied gas will be increased ten-fold. Urban buses and cars will also run on this fuel. Chemical neutralizers of vehicle exhausts went into commercial production at the Riga motor works for 14 million cars in private use, Levichev said.

Military

Army Regulations Observance Examined

PM061245 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Oct 87 First Edition p 2

[Colonel of Justice A. Varfolomeyev report: "In the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office. Deviation From Regulations Is Deviation From the Law"]

[Text] A session of the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office Collegium has been held to discuss the work of military prosecutors in supervising Army and Navy officials' execution of the demands of general service regulations in maintaining discipline and law and order.

The report by Colonel of Justice L. Zaiki, temporary acting chief military prosecutor, and the speeches by Major Generals of Justice V. Vasiliev and V. Levitskiy and others pointed out that the measures adopted centrally and locally to strengthen military discipline and law and order have enabled them to achieve some positive results.

However, military regulations have still not become a law of life for every serviceman. Most violations of the law and distortions of disciplinary practice occur as a result of nonobservances of regulation norms.

There are still large numbers of violations associated with nonfulfillment of regulation demands with regard to safeguarding servicemen's health. Many units do not comply with statutory provisions and rules for using arms and military equipment, and safety measures in carrying out economic and construction work are not ensured. Shortcomings in material and consumer supplies to the personnel and in getting the stipulated ration norms to servicemen have not been eliminated.

In many cases, unit commanders do not fulfill regulation demands in stopping and investigating violations of the law. Some of them are lying low. Connivance with violators of military discipline is allowed. Officials do not always set a personal example in observing military regulations. There is a particularly large number of these violations in the military construction units under central jurisdiction.

Having pointed out that the organs of the Military Prosecutor's Office are obliged to step up supervision over the execution of regulations by commanders, chiefs, and other Army and Navy officials, the collegium adopted the decision to improve the activity of these organs.

Defense Minister Visits Troops in GDR

PM061047 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Nov 87 First Edition p 7

[Own correspondent report: "Meeting with Servicemen"]

[Text] Army General D. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, has visited servicemen of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

During a meeting with unit and formation commanders and political personnel, the defense minister inquired about questions of intensifying combat training and about progress in preparing for the Great October anniversary, presented a group of officers with valuable gifts for successes in combat and political training, and announced some early routine promotions.

Gen Yazov visited servicemen of the Red Banner, Orders of Suvorov and Kutuzov Proskurovskiy Motorized Rifle Regiment and also the "N" order-bearing communications unit. The defense minister was present at signalmen's exercises in an ensigns' political training group and then talked with officers and ensigns about the role of combat traditions in educating servicemen and viewed exhibits in the Museum of Combat Glory.

The defense minister was accompanied on his visit to units by Army General V. Belikov, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany; Colonel General N. Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany Political Directorate; and Lieutenant General K. Fedorov, chief of staff of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

Lizichev Attends Armed Forces Arts Event

PM061633 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Nov 87 Single Edition p 4

[Our Correspondent report: "Review of Army Art"]

[Excerpts] The final concert of Army and Navy amateur arts collectives to be held as part of the second All-Union Festival of National Creativity dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution was held at the Soviet Army's Central Academy Theater. Hundreds of our best amateur artists took part. [passage omitted]

The concert was attended by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy; I.A. Larin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Administrative Organs Department; and V.M. Mishin, secretary of the AUCCTU. [passage omitted]

Obituary of Admiral P.N. Medvedev

PM091501 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 87 Single Edition p 4

[Obituary of Admiral Pavel Nikolayevich Medvedev]

[Excerpts] Admiral Pavel Nikolayevich Medvedev, an eminent USSR Armed Forces political worker and a deputy to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, has died after a short illness. [passage omitted]

P.N. Medvedev was born 28 January 1922 into a peasant family in Dobroye Pole Village, Kursk Oblast. On graduating from teacher training college, he taught in a village school. He was drafted into the Soviet Army in August 1941. He was part of the standing army during the Great Patriotic War. As a private and subsequently a junior commander and Komsomol worker, he displayed personal courage and valor and the ability to inspire people with the party's message in complex conditions of the combat situation.

In the postwar years, P.N. Medvedev was assigned to the Navy. He was engaged in Komsomol work. He graduated from the V.I. Lenin Military Political Academy. He worked as deputy chief and chief of a political organ and deputy chief of the Northern Fleet Political Directorate, and carried out responsible work at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. For a number of years he was a member of the Black Sea Fleet Military Council and chief of its Political Directorate. He was senior secretary of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Party Commission. In 1981-1987 he was a member of the Navy Military Council and chief of the Navy Political Directorate. Recently he had been military consultant to the USSR Defense Ministry General Inspectors Group. [passage omitted]

D.T. Yazov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, N.I. Savinkin, Y.P. Maksimov, Y.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, S.K. Kurkotkin, V.M. Shabanov, N.F. Shestopalov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, G.M. Yegorov, A.I. Sorokin, V.S. Nechayev, D.A. Volkogonov, V.S. Rodin, M.D. Popkov, V.A. Silakov, L.L. Batekhin, V.I. Panin, A.I. Shirinkin, N.I. Smirnov, K.V. Makarov, G.A. Bondarenko, F.I. Novoselov, V.V. Zaytsev, V.V. Sidorov, G.A. Kuznetsov, I.M. Kapitanets, G.A. Khvatov, V.P. Ivanov, M.N. Khronopulo, S.P. Vargin, A.M. Slavskiy, A.I. Korniyenko, V.P. Nekrasov, S.G. Gorshkov, A.P. Silantyev, V.M. Grishanov, N.D. Sergeyev, V.S. Sysoyev, V.A. Samoylov, V.V. Tolkachev, A.G. Steblyanko, V.G. Kalinin.

Obituary of Lt Gen V.P. Nevidnik

PM090919 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Nov 87 Single Edition p 4

[Obituary of V.P. Nevidnik]

[Excerpts] Lieutenant General Vitaliy Petrovich Nevidnik has died after a serious illness.

V.P. Nevidnik dedicated his whole life to selfless service of the socialist motherland, the Soviet people, and the cause of the Communist Party, of which he had been a member since 1949.

V.P. Nevidnik was born in 1928 in the village of Pereshchepino in Pereshchepinskiy Rayon, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast to the family of an employee. [passage omitted]

He held responsible positions in the forces and in the USSR Defense Ministry Main Inspectorate. [passage omitted]

D.T. Yazov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, Y.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, V.L. Govorov, M.I. Sorokin, D.S. Sukhorukov, O.F. Kulishev, S.A. Stychinskiy, S.I. Klyapin, N.V. Kalinin, V.M. Mikhalkin, M.A. Moiseyev, N.F. Kizyun.

Uzbek Draftees' Language Shortcomings Noted

PM090939 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Krasnaya Zvezda* in Russian 31 October 1987 First Edition carries on page 6 under the headline "Are Draftees Ready for Service?" a TASS roundup of correspondents' reports from around the country on preparing young people for the draft. Correspondents A. Nikolenko and S. Rukhmalev report from Navoi, Uzbek SSR, that when some Uzbek recruits were asked to say something in Russian they just "shrugged their shoulders" despite having gained good marks in Russian at school. This "dire situation" has long been known about, but, the writers conclude, practical measures to solve it are being taken "extremely slowly."